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ABSTRACT

This report presents findings from the Adolescent Parent Outreach Survey (APOS), a longitudinal survey of mothers under 18 years old in Cook County, Illinois, who were receiving Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) in October 1981. The report provides a profile of adolescent mothers on AFDC, and identifies personal and family background characteristics associated with the following: (1) completing high school; and (2) having a second birth. Differences in characteristics and social support among Blacks, Whites, and Hispanics are described. Among the findings of the follow-up interviews, conducted in 1983-84, were the following: (1) median age was 19; (2) 20 percent of the mothers had graduated or gotten a General Equivalency Diploma (GED), 8 percent were still in high school, and 72 percent had dropped out; (3) 49 percent had a second child, and another 7 percent were pregnant with their second child; (4) 10 percent had ever been married, and 5 percent were currently married; (5) 25 percent had held a job since their first pregnancy, and 50 percent had ever held a job; (6) 88 percent were still on AFDC; (7) 75 percent said their last pregnancy was unplanned, and 28 percent had been using birth control when they got pregnant last; (8) 68 percent were currently using birth control; (9) Hispanic mothers are much less likely to graduate high school or get a GED than were Black or White mothers; (10) no racial or ethnic differences were found in the likelihood or timing of second births; (11) the primary sources of support for the mothers were their families; (12) very little use of local or organized social services was reported. Data are presented on 33 tables and figures. A list of references is included. Appendices provide the sample design, results of regression analysis of the data, and the survey instrument. (BJV)

9-7-88

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ADOLESCENT PARENT OUTREACH FOLLOW-UP SURVEY

Pat W. Mosena, Ph.D

CHILDREN'S POLICY RESEARCH PROJECT

NORC
The University of Chicago

1986

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Illinois Department of Public Aid
Gregory L. Coler, Director

UD026380

Gregory L. Coler
Director

Illinois Department of Public Aid

Jesse B. Harris Building
100 S. Grand Avenue East
Springfield, Illinois 62762

Dear Citizen:

I am pleased to present The Adolescent Parent Outreach Follow-Up Survey. It is one of the first studies that provides an in-depth profile of young metropolitan welfare mothers.

In an effort to learn more about this growing segment of the state welfare population and to improve our understanding of the health and well-being of adolescent welfare recipients and their children, the Illinois Department of Public Aid joined a collaborative research effort with the Illinois Department of Public Health and the Children's Policy Research Project, NORC University of Chicago. This study was funded and published as a public service by the Department of Public Aid. In order to encourage distribution and widespread usage, contents may be mechanically reproduced but may not be offered for sale.

Containing a wealth of information, this survey looks at how these young girls adapt and cope with parenthood, school, job, and welfare dependency. It also provides an opportunity to examine closely these young mothers' ethnic backgrounds, welfare histories, fertility, service usages and risks of long term welare dependency.

Adolescent child bearing and its relation to welfare dependency is a complex issue to which there are no easy or short-term solutions. However, this survey offers information which will benefit all those serving pregnant or parenting teens, thereby helping in the intervention of the tragic costs of teenage pregnancy.

Sincerely

Gregory L. Coler

Gregory L. Coler

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ADOLESCENT PARENT OUTREACH
FOLLOW-UP SURVEY

Pat W. Mosena, Ph.D.

Children's Policy Research Project
NORC: A Social Science Research Center

1986

This study was supported by the Illinois Department of Public Aid,
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Numerous people within the Children's Policy Research Center provided advice and assistance throughout the project. In particular, I would like to thank Harold Richman for his guidance and critical review; Mark Testa for informed input and technical assistance; Joan Law for professional supervision of field work; John Burton who provided research assistance; and Mary Kotecki for her careful preparation of the manuscript.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Summary	2
Introduction and Background	4
Trends in Adolescent Fertility: Nation, State, City of Chicago	13
Study Design	19
Personal Characteristics	27
Family Background Characteristics	42
Sources of Support	49
Factors Associated with Finishing High School among Adolescent Welfare Mothers	67
Factors Associated with Second Births among Adolescent Welfare Mothers	72
Contraception	83
Summary and Conclusions	98
References	107
Appendices	110

LIST OF TABLES

Table		Page
1	Sample Size and Completion Rates for the Adolescent Parent Outreach Survey, Waves I and II	22
2	Personal Characteristics of Adolescent AFDC Mothers in Cook County by Race and Ethnicity, 1983-84	23
3	Educational Attainment and Aspirations among Adolescent AFDC Mothers in Cook County by Race and Ethnicity, 1983-84	29
4	Response to Educational Aspirations	38
5	Employment History	41
6	Family Characteristics of Adolescent AFDC Mothers in Cook County, 1983-84	44
7	Living Arrangements among Adolescent AFDC Mothers in Cook County, 1983-84	50
8	Provision of Child Care in the Last Month	54
9	Contact with Father of their Children	55
10	Welfare History and Current Welfare Status among Adolescent AFDC Mothers in Cook County by Race and Ethnicity, 1983-84	57
11	Perceived Problems and Importance of Problem among Adolescent AFDC Mothers in Cook County, 1983-84	62
12	Persons Who Served as Sources of Help with "Big Problems", Adolescent AFDC Mothers in Cook County, 1983-84	64
13	School Status by Race and Ethnicity	68
14	Number of Children by Race and Ethnicity	72
15	Cumulative Probability of Second Live Births by Number of Months Following First Live Birth by Selected Characteristics of Adolescent AFDC Mothers in Cook County, 1983-84	80
16	Pregnancy Intention and Contraceptive Use at Last Pregnancy among Adolescent AFDC Mothers in Cook County, 1983-84	85
17	Contraceptive Use at Last Intercourse among Adolescent AFDC Mothers in Cook County, 1983-84	87
18	Types of Birth Control Method Used at Last Pregnancy and Last Intercourse	88

19 Where Current Methods of Birth Control are Obtained..... 89

20 Reasons for Not Using Birth Control Last Pregnancy among Adolescent AFDC Mothers in Cook County, 1983-84..... 92

21 Reasons for Not Using Birth Control Last Intercourse Among Adolescent AFDC Mothers in Cook County, 1983-84..... 93

22 Reasons for Not Using Birth Control Last Pregnancy and Last Intercourse by Race and Ethnicity among Adolescent AFDC Mothers in Cook County, 1983-84..... 95

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure		Page
1	Marital and Non-marital Pregnancy and Abortion Rates among Women Age 15-19 in the U.S. and Selected Other Countries....	4a
2	Proportion of Children Living in Poverty in Illinois and the City of Chicago by Family Type, Race and Ethnicity, 1980....	16a
3	Overview of Adolescent Parent Outreach Surveys.....	19a
4	Framework for Analysis of Factors Associated with School Status and Second Births.....	24a
5	Age, School Status and Number of Children, among Adolescent AFDC Mothers in Cook County, 1983-84.....	27a
6	Age, School Status and Number of Children by Race and Ethnicity, Adolescent AFDC Mothers in Cook County, 1983-84..	31a
7	Perceptions of Problem Areas among Adolescent AFDC Mothers in Cook County, 1983-84.....	62a
8	Person Who Served as Source of Help with "Big Problem".....	64a
9	Agency or Organization Which Served as Source of Help with "Big Problem".....	66a
10	Cumulative Probability of Second Live Birth, Adolescent AFDC Mothers in Cook County, 1983-84.....	77a
11	Cumulative Probability of Second Live Birth by Educational Attainment, Adolescent AFDC Mothers in Cook County, 1983-84.	81a

SUMMARY

Due to the extensive research which has been carried out during the past twenty years, we know a great deal about the demographics, determinants and consequences of adolescent childbearing in the U.S. In contrast, very little is known about the dynamics of adolescent parenthood--how do the needs and desires of teenage mothers change over time and under specific conditions as their children move from infancy into childhood. This gap is particularly true for the most dependent portion of the teenage parent population--those on AFDC (Testa, 1983).

This report presents findings from the Adolescent Parent Outreach Survey (APOS), a longitudinal study of young mothers on AFDC in Cook County. Eight hundred and ninety-nine young welfare mothers were interviewed in 1981-82 and again in 1983-84. To be eligible for the survey, each of these young women had to be less than 18, with one or more children, or pregnant with their first child, and on AFDC in October, 1981. The sample included black, white and Hispanic adolescent mothers on welfare.

The APOS Survey is a joint research effort between the Illinois Department of Public Aid, the Department of Public Health, and the Children's Policy Research Project, NORC. The purpose of the study was to obtain information about the life circumstances of these young mothers and their children once they go on welfare. For some, AFDC serves as a short-term means of support which allows them to finish school or get a job. For others, AFDC is the beginning of a life of long-term dependency.

The current report provides a profile of adolescent mothers on AFDC in Cook County and identifies personal and family background characteristics associated with (1) completing high school and (2) having a second birth. Sources of social support among these young mothers are also examined.

The APOS Survey provides longitudinal data on many areas in the lives of these young welfare mothers. It also provides a unique opportunity to examine adolescent pregnancy and parenthood separately among black, white and Hispanic adolescents. This report describes differences in characteristics and social support between the three subgroups.

To summarize our findings, at the time of the follow-up interview:

* Median age of the sample was 19.

* Twenty percent of the sample had graduated or gotten a GED; eight percent were still in high school; and seventy-two percent had dropped out of school.

* Half (49%) of the sample had a second child and another seven percent were pregnant with their second child.

* Ten percent of the total sample had ever been married and five percent were currently married at the time of the follow-up interview.

* One-quarter of the young women had held a job since their first pregnancy, and one-half had "ever" held a job.

* Eighty-eight percent were still receiving AFDC benefits two years after the initial interview.

* Twelve percent were off AFDC at the time of the follow-up interview, and twenty percent had gone off of AFDC at least once since receiving their own grant.

* Seventy-five percent said their last pregnancy was unplanned and twenty-eight percent had been using birth control when they got pregnant the last time.

Our results show that when other factors are controlled, there is no difference in the likelihood of finishing school between the young black and the young white mothers in the sample. Hispanic respondents, however, are much less likely to have graduated or gotten a GED than are their non-Hispanic peers.

When we control on age at first birth, we find no differences in the likelihood or timing of second births between the young black, white, and Hispanic mothers on welfare. Based upon the experience and timing of second births among young women in the sample, one half of these young welfare mothers can be expected to have a second child within three years after their first child's birth. This pattern is consistent across the three racial and ethnic groups.

Our findings suggest that the primary source of support for these young women is the young woman's family. Very little use of local or organized social services was reported.

Three-quarters of the last pregnancies were unintended and a quarter of the respondents report that they were using some method of birth control at the time they became pregnant the last time. Sixty-eight percent report they are currently using birth control.

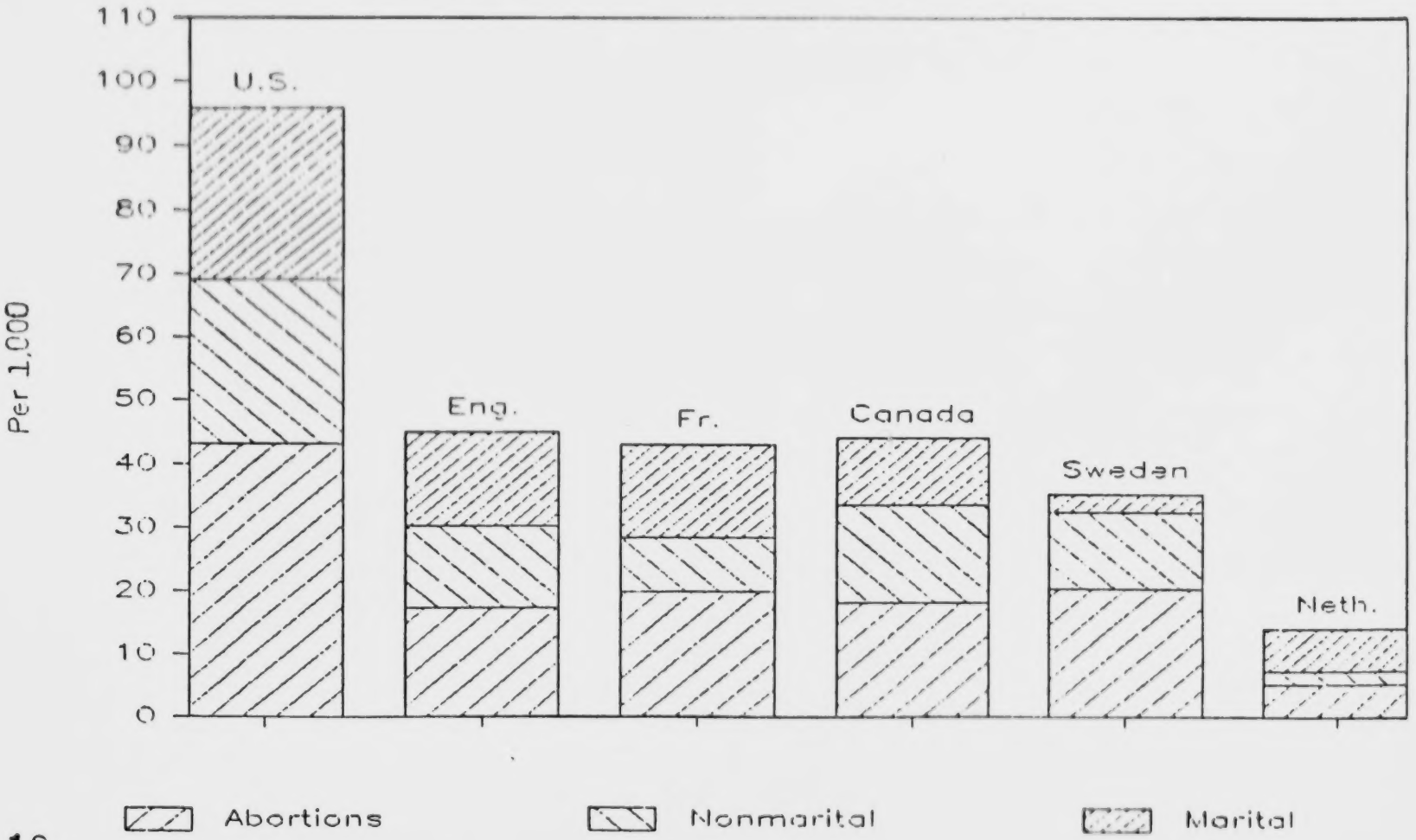
INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

The U.S. adolescent fertility rate is considerably higher than that of most other developed countries, and among young black women and certain Hispanic groups, the rates are among the highest in the world (Westoff, 1983; Ventura, 1983; Darabi, 1985). As shown in Figure 1, U.S. adolescent abortion rates alone equal adolescent fertility in most developed countries and actual adolescent fertility rates are much higher.

Due to the extensive research which has been carried out during the past twenty years, we know a great deal about the demographics, determinants and consequences of adolescent childbearing in the U.S. In contrast, very little is known about the dynamics of adolescent parenthood - how do the needs and desires of teenage mothers change over time and under specific conditions as their children move from infancy into childhood (Testa, 1983). This gap in knowledge is particularly true for the most dependent portion of the teenage parent population - those on AFDC (Testa, 1983).

The purpose of this report is to present findings from the Adolescent Parent Outreach Follow-up Survey, a longitudinal survey of 899 adolescent AFDC mothers in Cook County. Beginning with the birth of their first child, this study looks at how the young girls adapt and cope with parenthood, school, job and welfare dependency. The current report provides a profile of adolescent mothers on AFDC and identifies factors which affect the likelihood of completing high school and having a second birth among this sample of young welfare mothers.

Figure 1: Marital and Non-Marital Pregnancy and Abortion Rates among Women Age 15-19 in the U.S. and Selected Other Countries.*



*Source: E. Jones et al., 1985

Existing research suggests that whatever the determinants, teenage childbearing is associated with a number of adverse social, economic and health consequences for mothers and their children (Darabi, 1985). One of the most serious consequences associated with teenage childbearing is the fact that many young mothers fail to complete their education (Card and Wise, 1978). As a result, they may have difficulty finding employment and their incomes tend to be lower than those of women who delay childbearing until after the age of 20 (Suchindran, 1978; Darabi, 1985). Compared with women in the latter group, women who give birth as adolescents are more likely to live in poverty and are considerably more likely to receive public assistance (Moore, 1984). Women who give birth as adolescents are also more likely to experience subsequent unintended births (Trussell and Menken, 1978).

The primary means of public assistance to adolescent mothers and their children is AFDC, Aid to Families with Dependent Children. According to national estimates, women who were teenagers when their first child was born account for more than half of the total AFDC budget and 71 percent of all recipient mothers under age 30 (Moore, Wertheimer and Holden, 1981).

In Illinois, women who were teenagers when their first child was born head one-half of the families receiving AFDC. In addition, in 1983, 32 percent of births to teen mothers in Illinois were not their first child. More than half of the $4,347,000 spent in FY83 for medical expenses for births to teen mothers by the Dept. of Public Aid went to pay for births of second or third children to teenage mothers (Illinois Department of Public Health, 1984).

Adolescent parenthood in and of itself does not increase the chance of welfare dependency. The link lies in the fact that women who bear their first child as an adolescent are more likely to bring the child up in a single-parent household.... and single-parent female-headed households are more likely to be on welfare. Thus, adolescent childbearers appear to to be overrepresented among those receiving government assistance (Moore, 1982).

Illinois, like many states across the country has experienced increased AFDC caseloads due to increases in out-of-wedlock births and single-parent households among adolescents. A recent report on Adolescent Parenthood in Illinois, states that "welfare dependency is almost assured if a girl is in her teens, a mother, poor and a racial minority" (Illinois Department of Public Health, 1984).

Despite mounting evidence that early childbearing increases the odds of poverty and subsequently welfare dependency, very little is known about the life circumstances of these young women once they go on AFDC. For some, welfare serves as a means of support to allow them to finish high school and get a job. For others, AFDC marks the beginning of long-term dependency for themselves and their children (Testa, 1983).

In an effort to learn more about this growing segment of the state welfare population, the Illinois Dept. of Public Aid joined in a collaborative research effort with the Dept. of Public Health and the Children's Policy Research Project, NORC, to carry out the Adolescent Parent Outreach Survey.

The purpose of the Adolescent Parent Outreach Survey (APOS) is to improve our understanding of the health and well-being of adolescents AFDC recipients and their children; to learn about their family circumstances and social service needs and how these change over time.

The study was designed to answer basic questions about how these young mothers manage their lives once they go on welfare. How do they cope with parenthood, school and jobs? What are their needs and how do these change over time? What type of support do these young women receive from family, friends and organized social services?

The first wave of the Adolescent Parent Outreach Survey was carried out in fall and winter of 1981-82. Eighteen hundred and ninety-eight adolescent mothers on AFDC across the state were interviewed from the fall of 1981 to the winter of 1982. To be eligible for the survey, the young woman had to be less than 18, with one or more children or pregnant with her first child and on AFDC in Oct., 1981.

The original sampling plan provided for representative samples of black, white and Hispanic adolescents on AFDC in Oct., 1981. The state-wide sample was drawn using IDPA administrative records. Interviews were conducted by IDPA caseworkers and a 79 percent completion rate was obtained.

Two follow-up surveys were then carried out. During the summer of 1983, NORC reinterviewed 493 of the respondents who lived in Cook County at the time of the initial survey. The NORC follow-up survey was supported by the federal

Office of Adolescent Pregnancy Programs. Interviewing was done by NORC field staff. To supplement the NORC follow-up sample, IDPA reinterviewed another 406 of the original respondents who lived in Cook County. The IDPA follow-up sample consisted of the original Cook County respondents who remained after the NORC follow-up sample had been drawn. The IDPA follow-up survey was carried out from Dec. 1983 to June 1984 and interviews were conducted by IDPA caseworkers.

The current report will provide results of both follow-up surveys. The NORC and IDPA follow-up samples will be combined to provide a total of 899 completed interviews. This number represents 82 percent of the original Cook County sample.

The Adolescent Parent Outreach Survey contains a wealth of information on many aspects of these young women's lives. It is one of the few studies to provide longitudinal data on adolescent parenthood among an increasingly large segment of the welfare population. The survey begins with the first pregnancy and allows us to examine the ways in which these young women cope with adolescent parenthood, school, job and welfare dependency after the birth of their first child. This report will focus upon two major outcomes: school status and second births. It will identify selected characteristics of young mothers in the sample which make it more or less likely that a girl will:

1) graduate or drop out of school

2) have a second child

Two of the most critical factors affecting long-term opportunities and life chances of teenage parents are educational attainment and subsequent childbearing. Whether of not a girl finishes school and whether or not she has a second birth can be pivotal factors determining the consequences of adolescent parenthood for the young woman and her family. Without a high school diploma, job skills, employment opportunities and income generally remain low... resulting in a large proportion of young women who never finish high school having to turn to public assistance for support of herself and her children. Once a young mother begins to receive assistance, previous research suggests that one factor that may be critical to welfare outcomes is the birth of a second child.

In 1982, 32 percent of the births to teenagers in Illinois were second or higher order births. For the U.S., reports based on large-scale surveys indicate that about one out of five teenage mothers--regardless of ethnicity--become pregnant again within 12 months of delivering her first child (Polit and Kahn, 1985). Given the high proportion of teenagers who have repeat pregnancies, a better understanding of the incidence and causes of second births are important for a number of reasons.

First, repeat pregnancies exacerbate the adverse medical and social consequences of adolescent fertility. Previous analysis of these APOS data suggest that young mothers waited longer to obtain prenatal care with their second child than with their first, and second children tended to be lower birthweight babies than were first births (Testa, 1983). Previous analysis of these data also indicate that the birth of a second child contributes to

financial dependency directly by lengthening the time of the young woman's reliance on AFDC and indirectly by interferring with school and by delaying her entry into the paid labor force (Testa, 1983).

And secondly, existing research suggests that the factors which influence attitudes toward and exposure to pregnancy and contraceptive behavior are different for first and subsequent pregnancies (Hogan, Astone, Kitagawa, 1985). If effective intervention strategies are to be designed, factors and differences in the factors which influence rates of first and subsequent pregnancy must be determined.

The current report examines the relationship between school status and second birth, and selected personal and family background characteristics of the respondent. Personal characteristics include: race and ethnicity, age, education, employment, age at first birth, marital status and religious preference. Family background characteristics include: mother's education, mother's age at first birth, number of siblings and whether or not the respondent's sister had a baby before the age of 18.

In addition to the personal and familial characteristics of the respondent herself, a number of social support factors are examined to determine if sources of social support have an impact upon the likelihood of a young woman finishing school or having a second child. The social support factors include: living arrangements, child care, contact with father of the children, welfare history, and service utilization.

Distributions of personal, family background, and support factors and their relationship to school status and second births are examined separately for blacks, whites and Hispanic respondents. The current study provides a unique opportunity to examine adolescent childbearing and parenthood separately for blacks, whites and Hispanics. Numerous studies have documented significant differences in fertility, contraceptive attitudes and behavior between black and white adolescents. Much less is known about fertility related attitudes and behavior among Hispanic adolescents. Because we feel that knowledge concerning such differentials between racial and ethnic subgroups is crucial for planning and carrying out effective program interventions, we will examine these differences throughout the current report.

Objectives

The primary objectives of this report are:

1) To provide a profile of adolescent mothers on AFDC in Cook County.

2) To identify factors which make it more or less likely that a young welfare mother in this sample will complete high school.

3) To identify factors associated with the birth of a second child among this sample of young welfare mothers.

The report is organized as follows. Chapter 2 describes recent trends in adolescent childbearing, out-of-wedlock birth and childhood poverty in the nation, the state of Illinois and the city of Chicago. Chapter 3 describes the study design, the sample and methods of analysis for the current report. Chapter 4 decribes personal characteristics and provides a profile of the Cook County follow-up sample. Chapter 5 discusses background characteristics of the respondent's family and possible relationships between these factors and the two outcome variables. Chapter 6 describes sources of social support which are available to these young mothers. Chapters 7 and 8 present statistical models and results of multivariate analysis relating these personal, family and social support factors to school status and second births. Chapter 9 discusses use of contraception among these young welfare mothers. Chapter 10 presents a summary of findings.

Chapter 2

TRENDS IN ADOLESCENT FERTILITY: NATION, STATE, CITY OF CHICAGO

The demographics of adolescent fertility are well documented, for the nation as a whole and for the state of Illinois (Kantner and Zelnick, 1979-83; State of the Child, 1980). Despite increased attention in the media and in public policy debate, adolescent parenthood is not a new phenomena. Twenty-five years ago in 1960, 12 percent of all live births in the state of Illinois were born to teenage mothers. In 1982, 13.9 percent of all births, or, 25,566 babies were born to teenage mothers in Illinois (Testa, Lawlor and Richman, 1985).

Recent attempts to characterize adolescent fertility as an "epidemic" have obscured the fact that, for the past two decades, rates of adolescent fertility have actually declined in the U.S. As a result of more widespread and more effective use of contraception, the fertility of both adolescents and older women has declined nationwide.

Fertility patterns for the state are similar to those of the nation as a whole. Trend data indicate that in 1960 there were 85 births per 1000 females 15-19 years of age and 117 births per 1000 females 15 to 44. By 1982, these rates had declined substantially and the fertility rates of teenagers and all women had nearly converged at 52 per 1000 women 15-19 and 68 per 1000 women 15 to 44 (Testa and Wulczyn, 1980; Hogan and Kitagawa, 1985).

The only age group for which adolescent pregnancy and childbearing has actually increased in recent years is the youngest age group, those 14 years old or less. The number of babies born to girls under age 15 in Illinois has risen from 302 in 1960 to 777 in 1972 but has dropped to 553 in 1982. However, these births to younger teens represented 1 percent of the births to teens in 1960 and 3 percent in 1982. This pattern of increased fertility among the youngest age group, age 10-14, parallels that of the United States as a whole (Testa, Lawlor and Richman, 1985).

Although adolescent fertility rates have declined in recent years, the fact that rates for older women declined more rapidly has resulted in a larger proportion of total births being born to adolescents. The fact that a larger proportion of all births are now being born to adolescents has resulted in greater visibility and increased public attention to adolescent pregnancy and parenthood.

The increasing salience of adolescent parenthood as a policy issue is not due to the increased proportion of births to adolescents, but rather to a second major trend -- the increasing proportion of teenage births that are being born out-of-wedlock. Nationwide, an increased proportion of births to teenage mothers have been conceived prior to marriage, and decreased percentages of teenage girls becoming pregnant have legitimated the birth by marrying (Hogan and Kitagawa, 1985; Campbell, 1980). As a result, increasing numbers of children are being born to single teenage mothers and are being brought up in single-parent female-headed households.

In 1960 about 17 percent of Illinois teenager mothers were unmarried; this percentage climbed to about 40 percent in 1970 and by 1983 it had risen to 66 percent (Testa, Lawlor and Richman, 1985).

The data on total numbers of births to teenagers, and the number of out-of-wedlock births indicate similar trends among teenagers in Chicago. The percentage of all births in Chicago that are to unmarried teenage mothers has risen from 6.9 percent in 1965 to 16.1 percent in 1984. The number of out-of-wedlock births to teenagers increased from 5200 in 1965 to 8,682 in 1984. (Illinois Dept. of Public Health personal communications, 1986.)

National figures for out-of-wedlock childbirth differ significantly by race and ethnicity. Since 1970, out-of-wedlock birth rates in the U.S. have increased by more than 50 percent among white youth aged 15-17 while rates for black 15-17 year olds have decreased by 5 percent. Yet the differences in incidence between white and black girls remains signficant: a 15-17 year old black girl is six times as likely as her white counterpart to bear a child (Dryfoos, 1983).

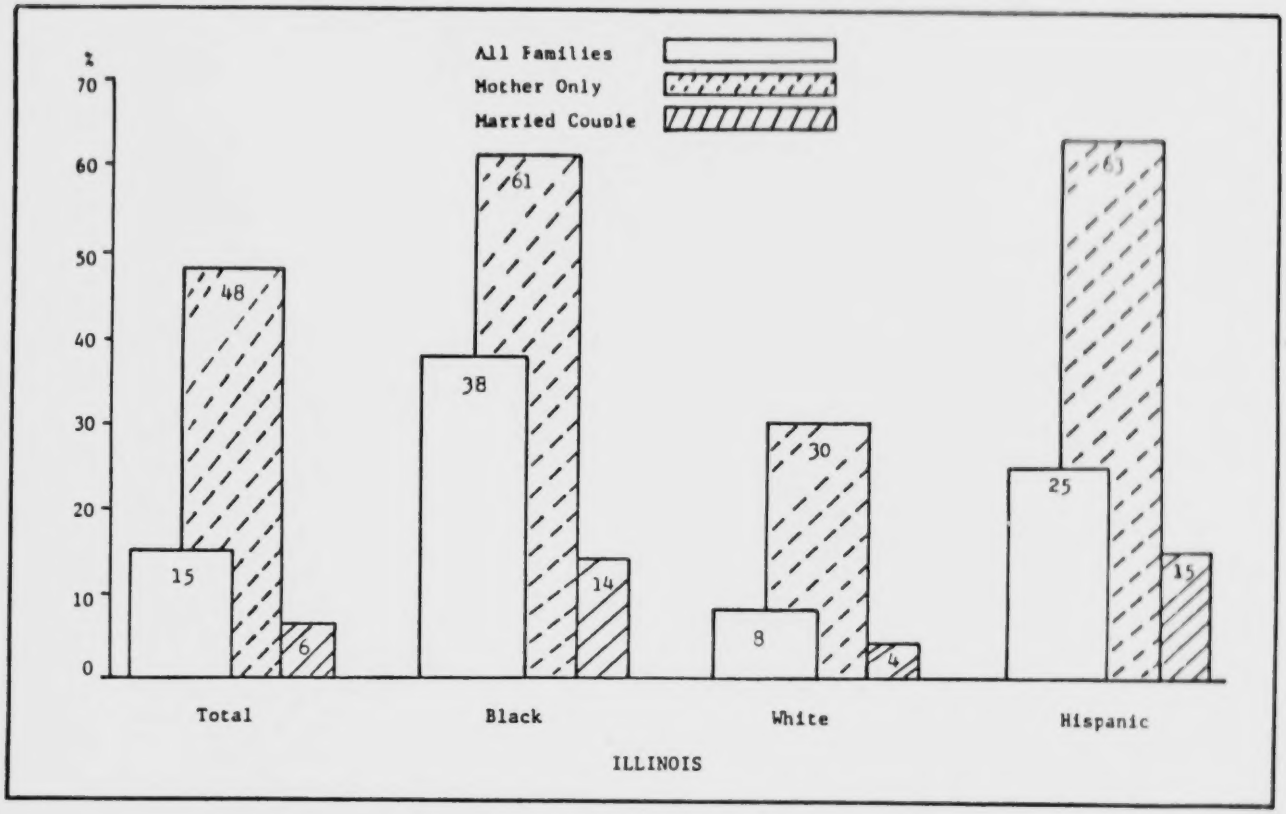
Similar differentials in out-of-wedlock childbirth are reported for the state of Illinois and the city of Chicago. In 1984, 48 percent of all births to white teenagers in Illinois were born out-of-wedlock compared to 94 percent among non-whites. In Chicago, 59 percent of the births to white teenagers were born to unmarried teens compared to 95 percent for non-white (includes Hispanic) teenagers (Illinois Dept. of Public Health personal communication, 1986).

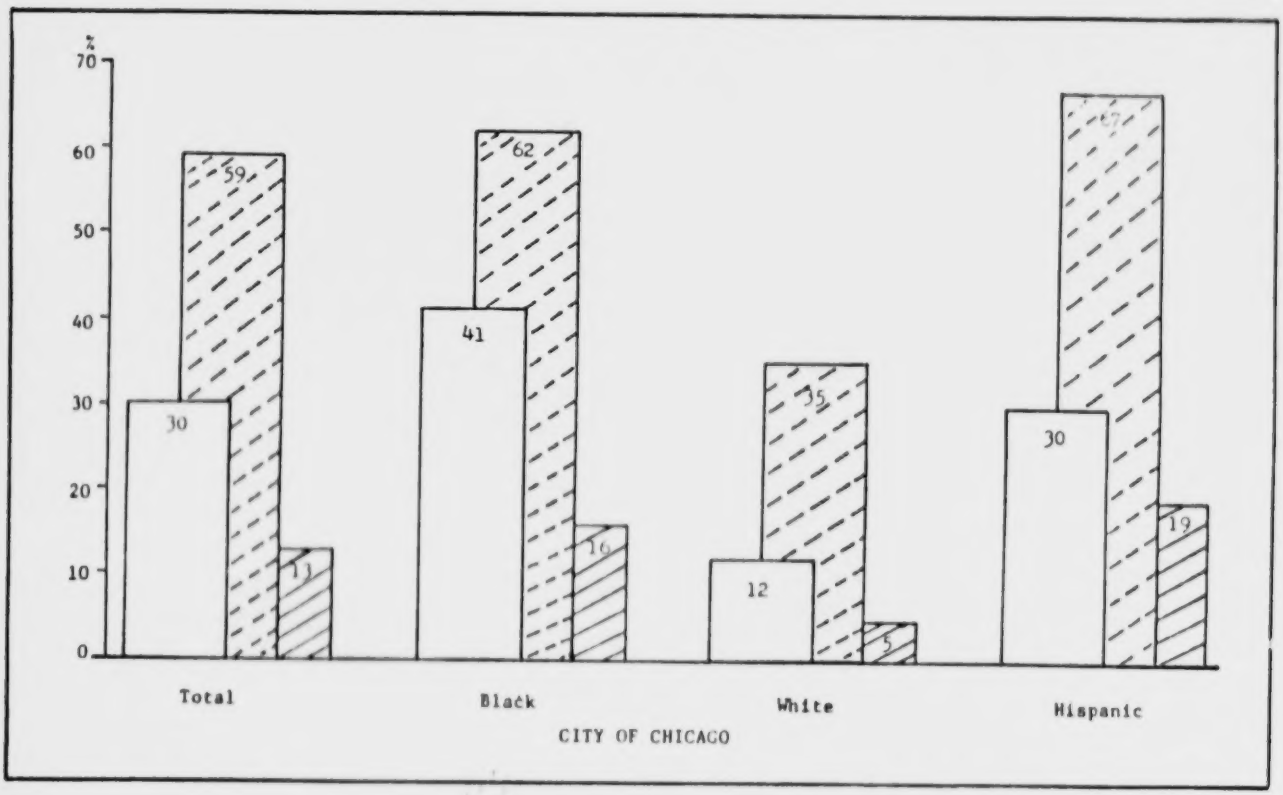
As previously stated, the importance of adolescent parenthood as a policy issue is not the fact that an increasing proportion of all births are being born to adolescents, but rather that a majority of these births to adolescents are being born out-of-wedlock. Adolescents in this country are increasingly foregoing the institution of marriage and are raising their children in single-parent households. Single parent households are generally female-headed and single-parent female-headed households are nine times as likely to live in poverty as are two parent or male headed households (Children's Defense Fund, 1984). Subsequently, single-parent female-headed households are more likely to turn to welfare for support.

Figure 2 shows the proportion of children living in poverty by type of household, race and ethnicity in the state of Illinois and the city of Chicago. In Illinois, 48 percent of the children living with the "mother only" are living in poverty as compared to 6 percent of those living with their "mother and father" or 15 percent among "all family types". Comparable figures for the city of Chicago are 59 percent for "mother only" families, 13 percent for families with both "mother and father" present and 30 percent for "all family types."

When we control for family type, substantial racial and ethnic differences are seen in the proportion of children living in poverty. For the state of Illinois, 61 percent of the black children living with their "mother only" are living in poverty. As shown in Figure 2, the proportion of single-parent female-headed Hispanic households living in poverty is even higher, 63 percent. Among whites, only half as many children, 30 percent, living with their "mother only" are living in poverty.

Figure 2: Proportion of Children Living in Poverty in Illinois and the City of Chicago by Family Type, Race and Ethnicity, 1980.





For the city of Chicago the pattern is similar, but actual proportions living in poverty are higher. Thirty percent of all families in the city of Chicago have children living below the poverty line; 41 percent of black families, 30 percent of the Hispanic; and 12 percent of all white families. If we look at "mother only" families the differences remain. Once again, the proportion of children living with their "mother only" and living in poverty is highest among the Hispanics, 67 percent; followed by 62 percent of the black; and only 35 percent of the white "mother only" families.

These figures suggest that children living in single-parent, female-headed households are much more likely to be living in poverty than are children living in other types of households. Controlling on type of household and looking at "mother only" families, we still find significant racial and ethnic differences in the proportion of children living in poverty. Such differences are seen for both the state and the city of Chicago.

The exact relationship between adolescent childbearing, increases in single-parent households and welfare dependency has not been determined. However, recent figures show that an increasing proportion of the AFDC caseload in Illinois is made up of "never married" single-parent households. The proportion of recipient "never married " families increased from 36 percent in 1960 to 53 percent in 1985 (Testa, Lawlor and Richman, 1985). As a result, "never married" single-parent female-headed households make up over one-half of the current AFDC caseload in Illinois.

These figures also show a significant shift in the racial and ethnic composition of AFDC recipients over the same time period. In 1960, 25 percent

of the AFDC families were white and 75 percent black. By 1985, the racial and ethnic composition had changed. The proportion of all AFDC recipients who are white has increased slightly to 29 percent. The proportion who are black has decreased to 61 percent and 9 percent of the current caseload are Hispanic. Interestingly, the number of children per AFDC family unit has decreased from 3.3 in 1960 to 2.0 in 1985 (Testa, Lawlor and Richman, 1985), another indication of an increase in the number of younger women with fewer children who now receive welfare.

The following chapter describes the overall design of the Adolescent Parent Outreach Survey and the methodology used for the current report.

Chapter 3

STUDY DESIGN

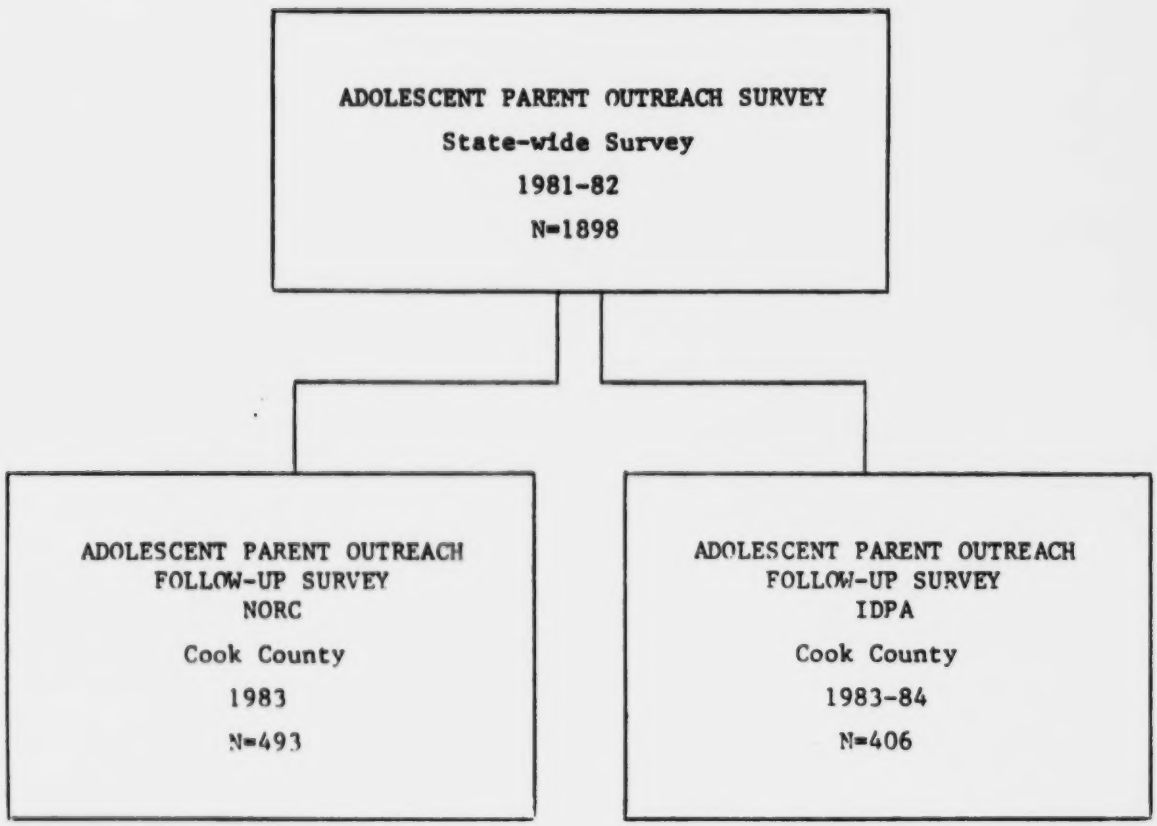
This chapter describes the overall design of the Adolescent Parent Outreach Survey (APOS) survey, procedures used for selecting the initial and follow-up samples, and methodology used in carrying out the current analysis. Figure 3 provides an overview of the APOS project including interview dates and completed sample sizes for the initial 1981-82 statewide survey and the two 1983-1984 Cook County follow-up surveys.

Sample

The sample for the initial 1981-82 state-wide survey was drawn using AFDC administrative records. Stratified lists were drawn up using case records. To be eligible for the survey, the girl had to be less than 18, have one or more children or be pregnant with the first child and be on AFDC in Oct., 1981.

The original sample design called for representative samples of black, white and Hispanic adolescent mothers on welfare. The sample included all whites, all Hispanics and all blacks less than 16 years old who were on AFDC rolls in Oct., 1981. Blacks 16 and over were sampled at one third their actual number. A more detailed description of the sample design and procedures used for selecting the original state sample are included in Appendix A.

Figure 3: Overview of Adolescent Parent Outreach Surveys



As previously described, two Cook County follow-up surveys were carried out, the first by NORC from July-Sept., 1983 and the second by IDPA from Dec.-June, 1983-84. As a result, the 1983-84 Cook County follow-up sample was selected in two separate phases. Five hundred seventy-five of the original 1095 respondents who were living in Cook County at the time of the initial survey were selected for the NORC follow-up sample. The IDPA follow-up sample consisted of the remaining 502 Cook County respondents.*

NORC, with funding from the federal Office of Adolescent Pregnancy Programs, completed follow-up interviews with 493 of the original Cook County respondents. To supplement the NORC follow-up sample, IDPA supported and carried out follow-up interviews with another 406 Cook County respondents. Table 1 presents the sample size and completion rates for the 1981-82 state survey and the two phases of the Cook County Follow-up Survey. Procedures used to select the follow-up samples are fully described in Appendix A.

For purposes of the current analysis, the NORC and IDPA follow-up samples are combined to yield a total follow-up sample of 899 Cook County respondents. Before combining the samples, both were examined and differences between the two groups determined statistically. Because of the difference in time between the NORC and the IDPA follow-up interviews, the IDPA sample tended to be a little older and to have more children. They were also slightly more likely to be receiving AFDC.

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*Eighteen respondents who had moved out of state were not eligible for the follow-up sample.

The NORC and IDPA follow-up surveys were originally planned with simultaneous field periods, from June through Sept., 1983. However, administrative procedures resulted in postponement of the IDPA field period until December, 1983. Thus, there is a possible six to twelve month period between the beginning date of the NORC field period and the end of the IDPA follow-up interviews.

The two follow-up samples also differ in terms of their racial and ethnic composition. The IDPA sample has a larger proportion (81%) of black respondents, fewer whites (2%) and fewer (17%) Hispanics than did the earlier NORC follow-up sample, see Table 1. The reason for these differences in proportions is that practically all of the eligible white and a majority of the eligible Hispanic respondents were interviewed in the earlier NORC follow-up survey.

Although differences do exist between the two samples, we expect that a majority of the differences can be explained largely as a function of the time difference between interviews. Sample differences are not considered large enough to significantly bias results and combining the two samples increases the total sample size by 406 respondents. However, the time lag between interview dates and implications of the time difference for selected factors must be taken into account with interpreting results of the study.

TABLE 1
Sample Size and Completion Rates for the
Adolescent Parent Outreach Survey, Waves I and II.

WAVE I: Statewide Sample, Oct. 1981 - March 1982

Group	Sample	Net Sample	Completed Interviews	Completion Rate
Blacks 16-17	1186	1000	818	81.8
Blacks < 16	282	254	204	80.3
Whites	959	804	626	77.9
Hispanics	401	351	250	71.2
	2828	2409	1898	78.8

WAVE II: First Follow-Up, Cook County, July - September 1983

Group	Sample	Net Sample	Completed Interviews	Completion Rate
Blacks	302	294	267	90.8
Whites	124	117	102	87.2
Hispanics	149	140	124	88.6
	575	551	493	89.5

WAVE II: First Follow-Up, Cook County, December 1983 - June 1984

Group	Sample	Net Sample	Completed Interviews	Completion Rate
Blacks	387	371	329	88.7
Whites	10	8	7	87.5
Hispanics	105	96	70	72.9
	502	475	406	85.5

Methodology

The Adolescent Parent Outreach Survey provides a wealth of longitudinal data on many areas in the lives of these young welfare mothers. Questionnaires were designed to elicite information on: births and pregnancies, educational attainment and aspirations, employment history, health care utilization, knowledge and use of social services including child care and family planning. To supplement the questionnaire, a calendar was designed to be completed by each respondent. The calendar begins with first pregnancy and graphically portrays significant events in the lives of these young women (births, school, jobs, welfare, and place of residence) and how these events related to each other over time. A copy of the calendar is found in Appendix C.

In order to focus the analysis and current report on questions/areas which would be most useful for program planning and evaluation, a series of discussions were carried out between NORC and IDPA administrative and program staff. As a result of these discussions, two major dependent or outcome variables were selected: 1) school status and 2) second birth. School status refers to whether the young woman has graduated or gotten a GED. Second birth refers to whether or not a woman has had a second child by the date of the follow-up interview.

Existing research has shown that not finishing high school can be a critical factor affecting employability, income, and long-term welfare dependency. The birth of a second child may be a pivotal factor in determining whether or not a young mother will return to or finish school.

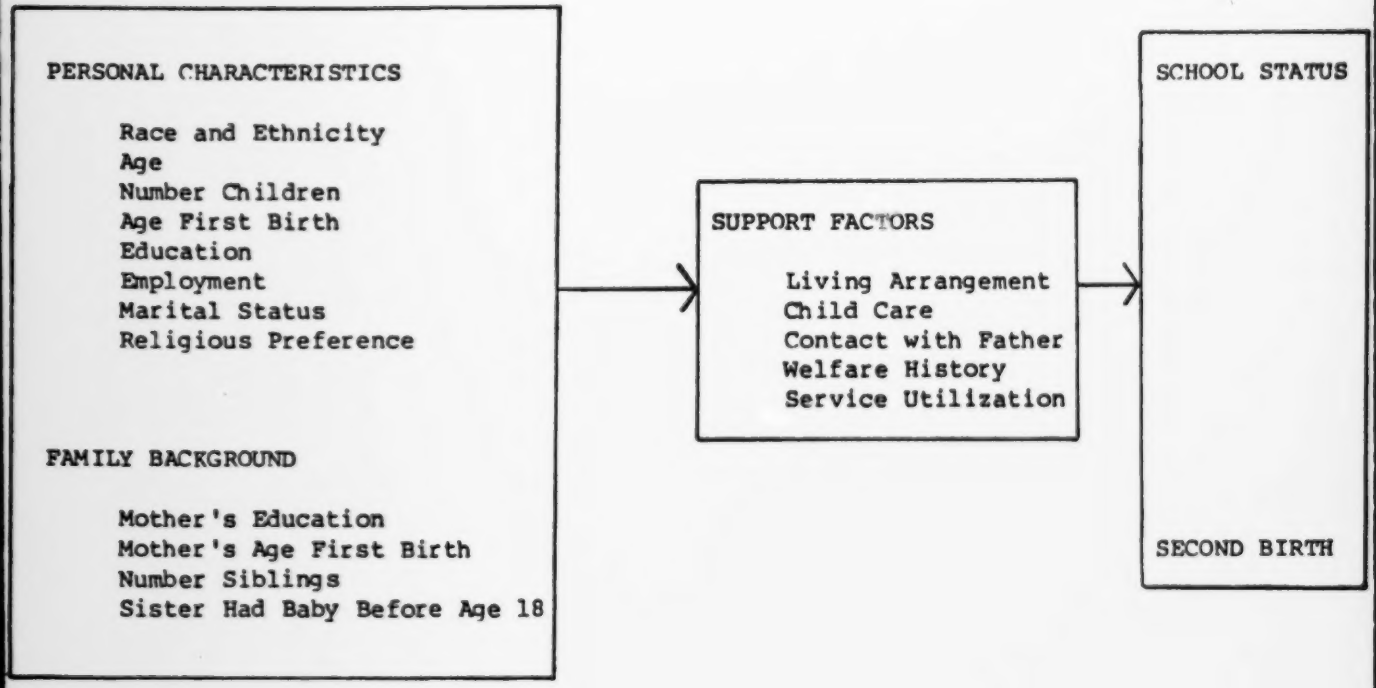
Because of their significance in shaping the life chances of adolescent mothers, information on factors which determine whether or not a girl finishes school or has a second child is particularly important for informing policy and program decisions. The current study will look at selected personal and family characteristics and their relationship to school status and second birth. A series of items reflecting different types of social support will also be related to the two outcome variables.

These selected personal and family characteristics and support factors are presented in Figure 4. Personal characteristics include: race and ethnicity, age, age at first birth, education, enployment, marital status and religious preference. Family background characteristics include: mother's education, mother's age at first birth, number of siblings, sister who had baby before age 18. Five sources of social support are examined: living arrangement, child care, contact with father, welfare history and service utilization.

Selection of these characteristics and the social support factors shown above was guided by discussions with IDPA, findings from existing research, and recommendations of a national Adolescent Family Life advisory panel.

The Adolescent Parent Outreach Follow-up Survey provides a unique opportunity to look at adolescent pregnancy and parenthood among Hispanics separately from blacks and whites. Because we feel that adolescent sexuality, pregnancy and parenthood may mean very different things for black, white and Hispanic adolescents, race and ethnicity are maintained as major control variables throughout the analysis.

Figure 4: Framework for Analysis of Factors Associated with School Status and Second Births



Statistical methods used to conduct the analysis include percentage distributions of selected characteristics for the total sample and the three racial and ethnic subgroups. These distributions provide a profile of the Cook County sample which allows us to describe adolescent AFDC recipients in Cook County and to identify racial and ethnic differences between young black, white and Hispanic adolescent mothers on welfare.

Simple crosstabulation was used to determine significant bivariate relationships between these selected factors, school status and second birth. Factors which proved to be significantly related to school status and second birth were then included in multivariate statistical models. In the current analysis we use regression analysis to "predict" the likelihood of graduating from high school and having a second birth among this sample of adolescent welfare mothers. That is, we use regression analysis to predict the occurrence of an event (e.g. graduating from high school or having a second birth) based upon our knowledge of other characteristics or factors (e.g. age, living arrangement) associated with that event in the population. Regression analysis allows us to test the effect of each of the independent variables while controlling on the effects of all other factors and thus we can determine the net effect of any one factor on the likelihood of finishing school or having a second child. Regression analysis, however, does not explain relationships nor does it indicate a causal relationship between variables. It only allows us to identify factors or a group of factors which are associated with our outcome or dependent variable, in this case, graduation from high school and having a second birth, within our sample of young welfare mothers.

The following three chapters describe the APOS sample in terms of personal and family background characteristics and the sources of social support which are available and utilized by these young welfare mothers.

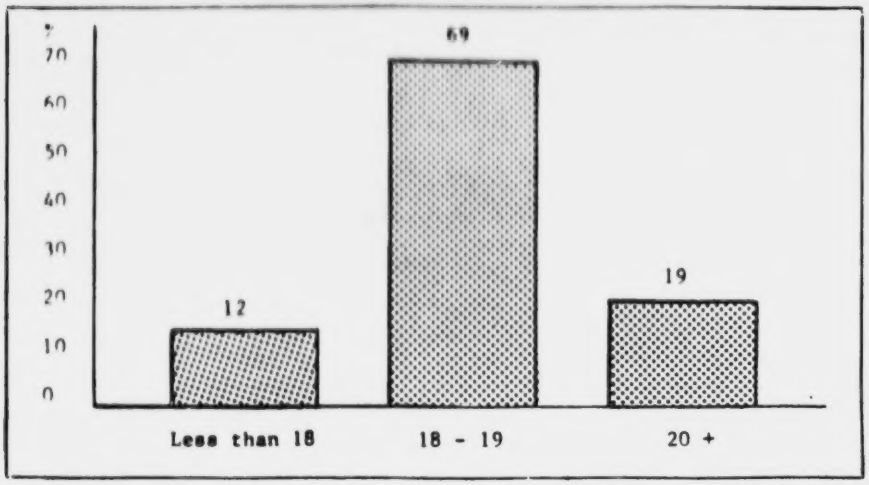
Chapter 4

PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS

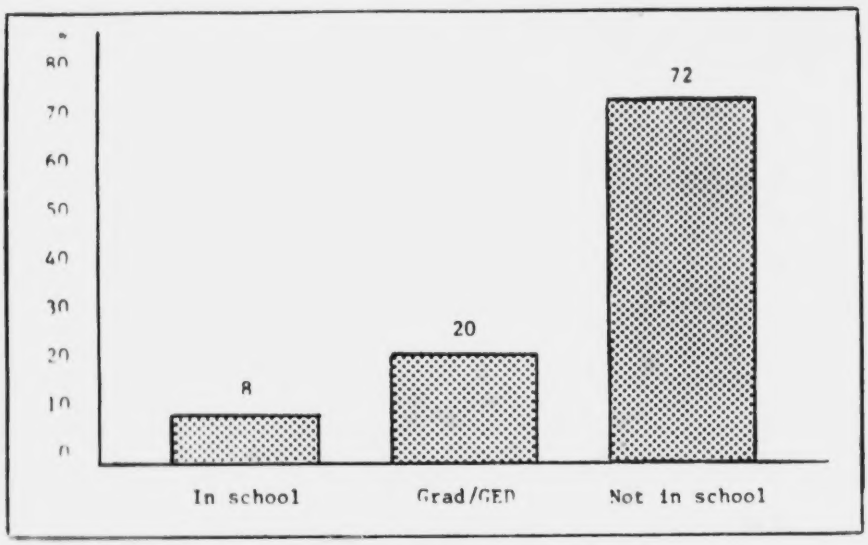
This chapter describes our sample of young welfare mothers in terms of selected personal characteristics: race and ethnicity, age, age at first birth, marital status and religious preference. In trying to identify what factors make it more or less likely that a young mother on AFDC will complete her education or have a second child, we first selected a number of personal and family background characteristics and looked at the distributions of these characteristics for the total sample and for the three racial and ethnic groups. Tables 2 and 3 present distributions of selected personal characteristics, educational attainment and aspirations, for the Cook County sample.

To summarize, at the time of the 1983-84 follow-up interview, median age of the total sample was 19; 8 percent were in high school, 20 percent had graduated or gotten a GED and 72 percent had dropped out of school; almost half, 49 percent, had two or more children. The racial and ethnic composition of the Cook County follow-up sample is 66 percent black, 12 percent white and 22 percent Hispanic. Figure 5 presents age, school status and number of children for the total Cook County follow-up sample.

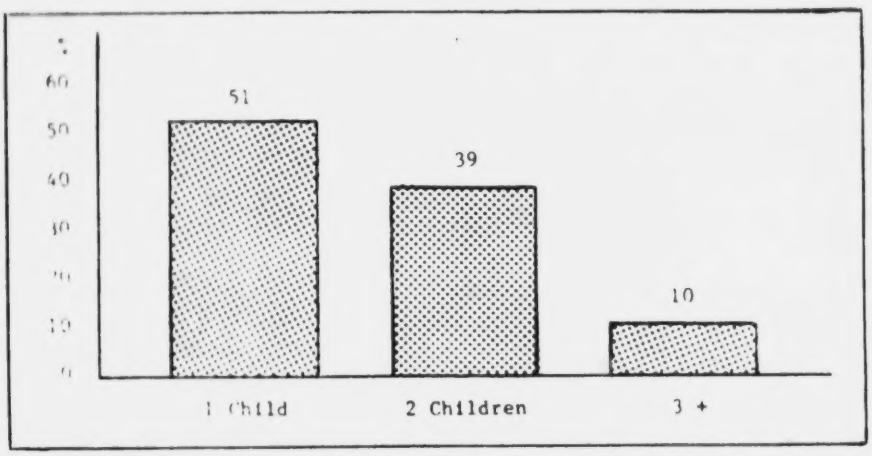
Figure 5: Age, School Status and Number of Children, Adolescent AFDC Mothers in Cook County, 1983-84.



AGE



SCHOOL STATUS



NUMBER OF CHILDREN

TABLE 2

Personal Characteristics of Adolescent AFDC Mothers in Cook County by Race and Ethnicity, 1983-84. (Percentage Distribution)

Item	Total N=894	Black N=589	White N=110	Hispanic N=195	Sig.
AGE AT INTERVIEW					
Less than 18	12.2	13.5	11.8	8.7	
18-19	69.2	63.8	83.7	77.5	
20+	18.6	22.7	4.5	13.8	
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
$\bar{X}$	19.2	19.2	19.1	19.2	NS
SCHOOL STATUS					
Enrolled in HS	7.5	9.2*	2.7*	5.1*	WHNS
Graduated	15.6	20.5	6.4	5.6	
GED	4.4	4.1	7.3	3.1	
Never Grad./No GED	72.5	66.2	83.6	86.2	
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
NUMBER OF CHILDREN					
1	51.1	48.2*	60.0*	53.8*	WHNS
2	38.6	38.6	36.4	41.5	
3+	10.3	13.2	3.6	4.6	
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
AGE FIRST BIRTH					
Less than 15	20.7	24.4*	12.8*	13.6*	WHNS
15-16	61.8	62.3	53.6	65.2	
17+	17.5	13.3	33.6	21.2	
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
MARITAL STATUS					
Ever Married	9.9	4.8*	25.5*	16.4*	WHNS
RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE					
Protestant	57.6	75.7*	49.1*+	7.6*+	
Catholic	27.7	7.3	40.9	82.6	
Other	3.7	3.8	3.6	3.1	
None	11.0	13.2	6.4	6.7	
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	

*$p < .05$

+$p < .05$ White/Hispanic

TABLE 3

Educational Attainment and Aspirations among Adolescent AFDC Mothers in Cook County by Race and Ethnicity, 1983-84.

(Percentage Distribution)

Item	Total N=894	Black N=589	White N=110	Hispanic N=195	Sig.
HIGHEST GRADE COMPLETED					
1-8	26.9	16.0*	41.8*+	50.4*+	WH.05
9-11	53.9	59.8	44.5	42.4	
12	14.2	18.5	6.4	6.2	
GED	2.2	2.0	6.4	.5	
College	2.8	3.7	.9	.5	
	100.00	100.0	100.0	100.0	
EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS					
Less HS/DK	2.5	1.8*	8.1*	5.4*	WHNS
High School	25.3	21.6	52.7	36.5	
Some College	42.3	44.3	27.0	37.2	
College Grad.	27.4	29.4	12.2	20.3	
No Info.	2.5	2.9	-	.6	
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
EVER DROP OUT	81.3	74.2*	94.5*	95.4*	WHNS
IN SCHOOL WHEN PREGNANT WITH FIRST CHILD	81.2	94.0*	53.6*	59.5*	WHNS

*p < .05

+p < .05 White/Hispanic

Race and Ethnicity

A total of 899 young women who lived in Cook County at the time of the initial survey completed follow-up interviews in 1983-84. Five hundred eighty-nine, (66 percent) of the respondents in the the follow-up survey are black, 110 (12 percent) are white and 195, (22 percent), are Hispanic.*

Age at Interview

The current age distribution of the Cook County sample is partially a result of sample selection criteria which required that young women be less than 18 years old in Oct., 1981, when the original state-wide sample was drawn. At the time of the second interview in 1983-84, a majority of the respondents were 18 or 19. Median age of the total sample was 19.

School Status

At the time of the follow-up interview, 8 percent of the total sample were still in high school; 20 percent had graduated or gotten a GED. Close to three quarters, 72 percent, of the total sample had dropped out of school. At the first interview in 1981-82, 42 percent of the sample were in school and 58 percent were not in school.

Among those young women who had finished high school (20%), close to half were enrolled in college or a trade school at the follow-up interview.

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*Four follow-up respondents were Asian and 1 American Indian and were excluded from the current analysis.

Number of Children

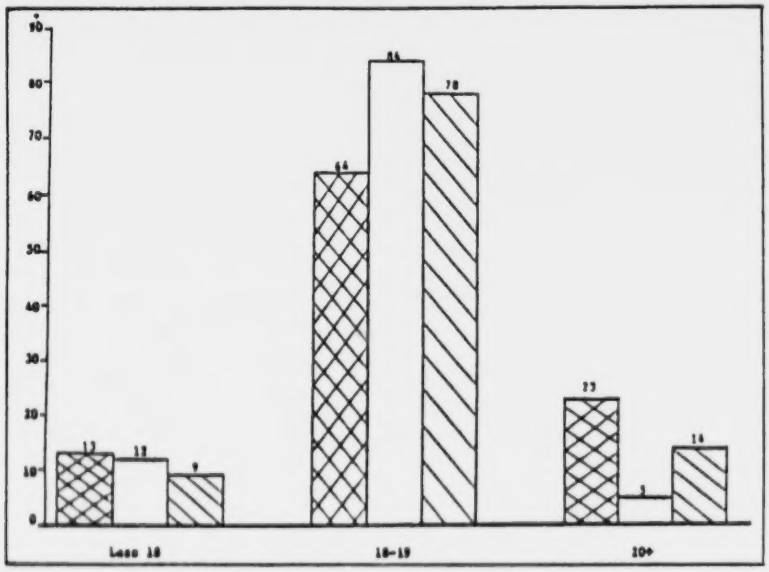
In 1981-82, at the time of the initial survey, 83 percent of these young women had 1 child, 16 percent had 2 children and 1 percent had three or more. Two years later at the 1983-84 follow-up interview, 51 percent had 1 child, 39 percent had 2 children and 10 percent had three or more children. Thus, in less than three years, the proportion of young women in the sample who had two or more births doubled.

Thirteen percent of the total sample, or 114 young women, were pregnant at the time of the follow-up interview. Of these 114, 64 (56%) were pregnant with their second child; 41 (36%) were pregnant with their third child; 8 (7%) were pregnant with their fourth child; and 1 was pregnant with a fifth child.

Tables 2 and 3 provide a profile of the Cook County follow-up sample. These figures also reveal significant differences in personal characteristics among the three racial and ethnic groups. Differentials in age, school status, number of children, by race and ethnicity are shown in Figure 6.

As shown, black respondents tend to be slightly older with a larger proportion being 20 or above at the follow-up interview. Although similar proportions in each subgroup have 2 children, total number of children does vary by group. Blacks are less likely to have 1 child and more likely to have three or more children than either whites or Hispanics. The young black women are much more likely to be in school (9%) or to have graduated (21%) or gotten a GED (4.5%), than are the white (3%, 7%, 7%) or the Hispanic (5%, 6%, 3%)

Figure 6: Age, School Status and Number of Children by Race and Ethnicity, Adolescent AFDC Mothers in Cook County, 1983-84.



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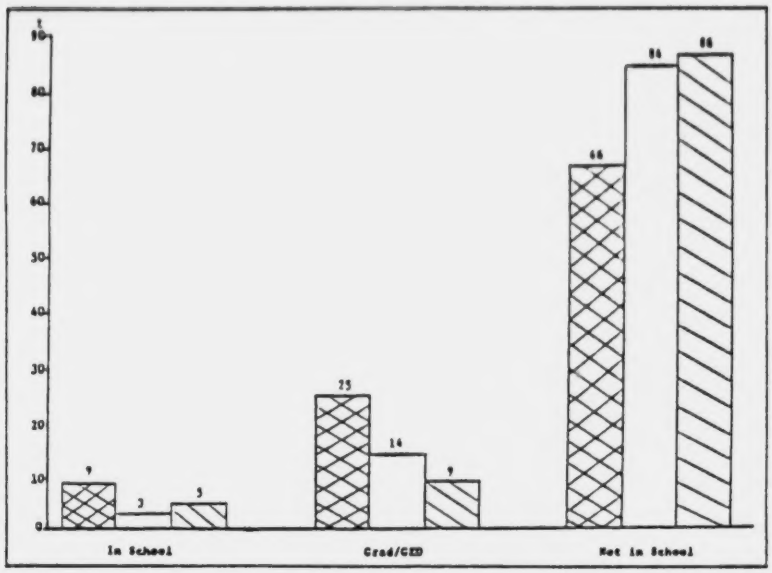
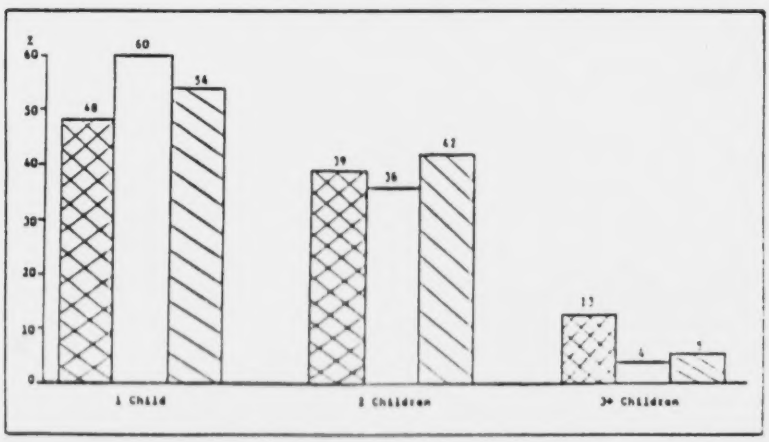


Black
White
Hispanic

SCHOOL STATUS



NUMBER OF CHILDREN

respondents. Close to 85 percent of both the white and the Hispanic respondents were not in school at the follow-up interview.

Since a large proportion of the black respondents are 20 years old or older, we would expect that more of the blacks would have completed their education and that more whites and Hispanics would still be in school. Although more black respondents have completed high school, a larger proportion of the young black mothers are also still in school. At the time of the follow-up interview, 9 percent of the blacks as opposed to 3 percent of the whites and 5 percent of the Hispanics were still attending high school. Only 66 percent of the black respondents had dropped out of school as compared to 84 percent of the whites and 86 percent of the Hispanics.

Each of the differentials described above could be partially explained by the difference in interview dates between the two follow-up samples. Over half of the black respondents fell into the IDPA sample and were interviewed as much as six to twelve months later than the NORC sample. Thus, some of these differences between subgroups such as age and number of children may be simply a function of time and increased exposure to the risk of pregnancy and childbirth. Differences in other factors which are not time dependent such as age at first birth, educational aspirations and religiosity may reflect important differences between the three racial and ethnic groups. Identifying such differences and their relationship to school status and second birth are necessary for effective program planning and implementation. Distributions of age at first birth, age at first intercourse, marital status and religious preference are described below, first for the total sample and then for the three subgroups.

Age at First Birth

Previous research has found age at first birth to be a determining factor in both number and timing of subsequent births among adolescents. Women who begin childbearing early subsequently bear children more quickly, have more of them, and have more unwanted and out-of-wedlock births than women who postpone childbearing (Hofferth, 1984).

Likewise, having a baby at age 14 when a girl is in the 9th grade may be more disruptive to schooling than having a baby at age 16 or 17 when she is in the 12th grade and close to graduation.

As shown in Table 2, 21 percent of the total sample had their first child at age 14 or less. Sixty-two percent were 15 or 16 at the birth of their first child and 17 percent were age 17 or older. Thus, among the total sample one in five had a baby prior to the age of 15.

The figures in Table 2 suggest that there are differences in age at first birth among the three subgroups. Close to one-quarter (24%) of the black respondents had their first baby at age 14 or less compared with 13 percent of the whites and 14 percent of the Hispanics. Whites are more likely to be older at first birth, with one-third being 17 or above when their first baby was born. These figures suggest that the Hispanics fall somewhere in the middle but appear more similar to whites in patterns of age at first birth.

Age First Intercourse

The age at which a young woman becomes sexually active, pregnant and bears her first child has been shown to have significant influences on later life events (Trussell and Menken, 1978; Millman and Hendershot, 1980). To be eligible for the APOS survey, a young woman had to have given birth prior to the age of 18. Thus we are looking at a sample of young mothers who gave birth at very young ages.

Given the distributions of age at first birth and the close association between the onset of sexual activity and the probability of pregnancy among adolescents (Zabin and Clark, 1983), this sample would be expected to have initiated sexual activity at very young ages. Close to half (46%) of the total sample report their age at first sexual intercourse to be 14 years or less. Fourty-nine percent report being 15 or 16 when they first had sexual intercourse and 4 percent report being 17.

Once again there are differences by subgroup. Among this sample, Hispanics report older ages at first intercourse than either blacks or whites. Only 36 percent of the Hispanics, as compared to 50 percent of the blacks and 45 percent of the whites, report having intercourse prior to the age of 15.

These results parallel those previously reported which suggest that Hispanics are less likely to initiate sexual activity at younger ages than are their non-Hispanic peers (Darabi, 1985). Responses to a question regarding initiation of sexual activity among unmarried Hispanic adolescents may reflect some cultural sensitivity as well as real differences in exposure and age at first intercourse.

Although these data indicate that this sample of young mothers was exposed to sexual intercourse and the risk of pregnancy at very young ages, we do not have information on frequency or regularity of of sexual intercourse and therefore cannot assume continuous or equal exposure to pregnancy.

Marital Status

Frequency and regularity of sex, and therefore risk of pregnancy, are partially determined by marital status. Married couples, and particularly adolescent married couples, are more likely to have intercourse more frequently and more regularly than are unmarried adolescents.

When first interviewed in 1981-82, five percent of the total sample had "ever" been married and two percent were currently married and living with their husbands. At the time of the follow-up interview in 1983-84, 10 percent of the total sample had ever been married. Only half of these, 5 percent, were currently married at the time of the survey. Whites are much more likely to have "ever" been married with a quarter (26%) of the whites reporting they have ever been married as compared to only 5 percent of the blacks and 16 percent of the Hispanics.

Marriage serves as one means of exiting welfare, however, among this sample of respondents it appears to be a limited alternative. These data do suggest that the chances of getting married and going off welfare are greater for whites and Hispanics than for blacks.

Religious Preference

Fifty-eight percent of the total sample reported that they were Protestant and 28 percent Catholic. Eleven percent of the total sample reported having " No Religious Preference" and three percent "Other".

Black respondents were predominantly Protestant (76%) and Hispanic respondents predominately Catholic (83%). Whites were equally divided between Protestant (49%) and Catholic (41%). Blacks were more likely to report "No Religious Preference" than were either whites or Hispanic respondents.

Several studies have reported that "religiosity" not religious preference has an impact upon adolescent pregnancy and childbearing (Devaney and Hubley, 1981). Religiosity is generally measured in terms of how often the person attends religious services. To obtain a measure of religiosity among this sample of welfare mothers, we asked respondents, "How often do you attend religious services?" Close to one quarter of the respondents reported they "Never" went to church. Another 35 percent said they went to church several times a year and the remaining 40 percent said they went to church several times a month. Blacks and Hispanics reported going to church more frequently than white respondents.

Educational Attainment

As previously stated, at the time of the follow-up interview, 8 percent of the total sample were still in high school; and 20 percent had graduated from high school or gotten a GED. Close to three quarters (72 %) of all respondents had dropped out of school.

Level of educational attainment was measured using the highest grade completed at the time of the second interview. Table 3 presents educational attainment and aspirations for the total sample and the three subgroups. Among the total sample, more than one quarter (27%) had completed 8th grade or less. Fifty-four percent had completed grades 9-11. Twenty percent had completed grade 12 or gotten a GED. Among the total sample, 3 percent reported they had attended college.

As might be expected from their current school status, educational attainment was highest for blacks. Twenty-four percent of the black respondents as compared to 14 percent of whites and 7 percent of Hispanics had completed high school or gotten a GED. While not significantly different from each other in terms of current school status, whites and Hispanics were signficantly different from each other and from the black respondents in terms of educational attainment or highest grade completed. Only fifty percent of the Hispanics respondents had gone beyond the eighth grade as compared to 58 percent of the whites and 84 percent of the blacks.

Educational Aspirations

Previous studies have related educational aspirations to school status and to number and timing of subsequent births among adolescent mothers (Miller and Simon, 1980; Kantner and Ford, 1981). Although the direction of the relationship is not clear, teenagers who have higher educational aspirations are reported to have later ages at first intercourse and lower rates of teenage pregnancy (Haggstrom, et al, 1981). To measure level of educational aspirations among our current sample of welfare mothers, we asked the respondents the following question:

"Thinking about the next ten years, how far do you plan to get in your education?" Responses to this question are shown in Table 4 below.

Table 4
Response to Educational Aspirations

	Number	Percent
Won't finish high school or don't know	22	2.5
High school	226	25.3
Some college	379	42.3
College graduate	245	27.4
No Information	22	2.5
	894	100.0

Educational aspirations for the total sample tend to be high given current level of educational attainment and current school status among the group. One quarter of the sample plans to graduate from high school. Over 40 percent plan to get some college education and another 30 percent plan to graduate from college. Thus, close to 70 percent of the total sample have college aspirations.

Educational aspirations vary dramatically by ethnic group. Blacks have the highest aspirations with three-fourths (74 %) of the black respondents saying they expect to go to college. Only 2 percent of the blacks do not plan to finish high school. In contrast, 8 percent of the whites did not plan to finish high school and less than 40 percent plan to go to college.

Although lowest in current level of education, Hispanic respondents fall between blacks and whites in their educational aspirations. Five percent say they do not expect to complete high school and 58 percent say they plan to go to college.

Existing literature shows that young blacks tend to have educational and employment aspirations that are high, given current conditions in both our public education systems and labor market (Dryfoos, 1983). Educational aspirations among our sample of young black mothers appear to fall into that same pattern with close to three-quarters of the black respondents saying they plan to attend college. Plans to complete high school by a majority of both white and Hispanic respondents may be more realistic than those of many black respondents who say they plan to attend college. However, given that 85 percent of each group were not in school at the time of the follow-up interview, it seems unlikely that fifty percent of either the white or the Hispanic respondents in this sample will finish high school.

In terms of the overall pattern of school status, educational attainment and aspirations, young black mothers are much more likely to be in school or to have graduated and to have higher educational aspirations than either

whites or Hispanics. Whites and Hispanics do not differ significantly in terms of current school status with close to 85 percent of both groups out of school at the time of the follow-up interview. Educational aspirations also tend to be similar among whites and Hispanics. Level of educational attainment, however, is significantly different between the two groups with only half of the Hispanic subsample having gone beyond the eighth grade.

Drop Out

Eighty-one percent of the total sample had dropped out of school at least once. Once again, the percentage for the total sample masks significant differences among subgroups. Ninety-five percent of the whites and 95 percent of the Hispanics had dropped out of school at least once as compared to only 74 percent of the blacks. Thus, a quarter of the black respondents have never dropped out of school, as compared to only 5 percent of both the whites and the Hispanics.

In School When First Pregnant

Eighty-one percent of the total sample were in school when they became pregnant with their first child. Again, we find very significant differences between the three groups. Ninety-four percent of the black respondents were in school when they became pregnant the first time. This contrasts with slightly over half (54%) of the whites and 60 percent of the Hispanics.

Employment

Table 5 provides information about employment among our Cook County sample. Employment histories for this young women are brief. At the time of the first survey in 1981-82, half (53%) said they had "ever held a job" in which they worked at least 15 hours a week and received a salary. In the second interview, one quarter of the respondents said they had held a job since their first pregnancy. These proportions are consistent across all three groups.

The jobs which were held by these young women tend to be short term CETA, JTPA, or fast food jobs. Only a very few of these young women reported having worked longer than a few months at any one job. Five percent of the total sample were working at the time of the initial interview. At the time of the follow-up interview, 3 percent of the respondents said they were working full time and 3 percent said they were working part time. Thirty percent reported they had been looking for work during the past month.

TABLE 5
Employment History
(Percentage Distribution)

Employment	Total N=894	Black N=589	White N=110	Hispanic N=195
Ever Held a Job	53.5	53.5	53.6	53.8
Had Job Since First Pregnancy	24.0	25.0	25.5	21.0

Chapter 5

FAMILY BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS

Several studies have shown family background characteristics such as social class, number of siblings, or parental structure to be significantly related to adolescent pregnancy and parenthood (Hogan and Kitagawa, 1985; Moore and Caldwell, 1976). Existing research indicates that premarital pregnancy rates are highest among women from poor and disrupted families (Moore and Caldwell, 1976).

A recent study of premarital pregnancy rates among black teenagers in Chicago reports that high levels of premarital pregnancy are associated with single family households, large family size, and one or more sisters who became teenage mothers (Hogan, Astone and Kitagawa, 1985)

For the current analysis, we selected four family background characteristics, mother's education, mother's age at first birth, number of siblings, and sister who had a baby prior to age 18, to be related to school status and second birth among our sample of young mothers.

All of the young mothers in our sample, are or were on AFDC, and thus can be considered lower income. Despite their current economic situation, however, respondents may differ in terms of their past economic or social class backgrounds. Education of the respondent's mother is included as an indicator of social class among our sample.

Significant relationships between mother's age at first birth or having a sister who was a teenage mother with the likelihood of having a second birth could suggest some type of "role model" effect from either or both of these factors. Number of siblings in the parental household has been reported to influence the number of children a young woman has (Hogan and Kitagawa, 1985) and we also examine this relationship among our sample of young welfare mothers.

Distributions of these family background characteristics for our Cook County sample are shown in Table 6. These distributions will be discussed first for the total sample and then in terms of differences among the three subsamples.

TABLE 6

Family Characteristics of Adolescent AFDC Mothers in Cook County, 1983-84.
(Percentage Distribution)

Item	Total N=894	Black N=589	White N=110	Hispanic N=195	Sig.
MOTHER'S EDUCATION					
Elementary	23.5	13.9*	24.5*+	51.8*+	WH.05
Some High School	27.6	29.7	31.8	18.5	
High School	27.9	33.4	27.3	12.3	
Don't Know	21.0	22.9	16.4	17.4	
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
MOTHER'S AGE AT FIRST BIRTH					
Less than 15	7.9	10.0*	1.8*+	5.1*+	WH.05
15-16	23.9	26.0	12.7	24.1	
17+	68.2	64.0	85.5	70.8	
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
NUMBER OF SIBLINGS					
0	2.4	1.9*	5.5*+	2.1+	BHNS
1-3	25.8	24.4	38.2	22.7	
4-6	37.6	36.5	38.2	39.6	
7+	34.2	37.2	18.1	35.6	
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
SISTER HAD BABY PRIOR TO AGE 18					
Yes	44.8	48.6*	34.5*	39.0*	WHNS
No	55.2	51.4	65.5	61.0	
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	

*p < .05

+p < .05 Whites/Hispanics

Mother's Education

Mother's education for the total sample is fairly evenly distributed among the three categories: elementary (24%), some high school (28%), and high school (28%).

When we look at the three racial and ethnic groups we see significant differences in the level of the respondent's mother's education. Hispanics reported the lowest level of mother's education and blacks the highest, with whites falling in between. Over fifty percent (52%) of the Hispanics say that their mothers only completed elementary school, grades 1-8, and another 19 percent say they attended some high school but did not graduate. In contrast, only 25 percent of the whites and 14 percent of the blacks said that their mothers had only an elementary school education. One third of the blacks and 27 percent of the whites reported that their mothers had completed high school as compared to only 12 percent of the Hispanics. Level of mother's education is one of the few areas where whites are significantly different from Hispanic respondents. More of the black respondents did not know their mother's educational level (23%), but the proportion who did not know was also relatively high among both whites (16%) and Hispanics (17%).

Mother's Age at First Birth

According to the results in Table 6, a majority of our sample had their first child at a younger age than that reported for their mother. Sixty-

eight percent of the total sample report that their mother was 17 or older when she had her first child, whereas, only 17 percent of our sample were 17 or older at the birth of their first child.

These results reflect the fact that a young woman had to be less than 18 when she had her first child to be included in the APOS sample. In addition, there may be some element of error in recalling their mother's age at first birth. At any rate, our results for the total sample do not substantiate the "role model" theory. A majority of our respondents were younger than their mother's reported age at first birth when they had their first child.

There are differences in mother's age at first birth between ethnic and racial groups however. Blacks report that their mothers were younger at first birth, than either whites or Hispanics. Whites report that their mothers were the oldest at first birth and the Hispanics fall between. Ten percent of the blacks report that their mother was 14 or younger at the birth of her first child and 64 percent report that she was 17 years old or older. In contrast, less than 2 percent of the whites report that their mother was 14 or less at her first birth and over 85 percent report that she was age 17 or above. The Hispanics fall in between, with 5 percent saying their mother was 14 or less and 71 percent saying she was 17 or above.

This pattern of age at mother's first birth by ethnic group is consistent with the pattern of the respondent's own age at first birth. That is, blacks in our sample had their first baby at a younger age and are more likely to report their mothers were younger at first birth than either whites or Hispanics. Whites were oldest at both their own and the reported age of their

mother's first birth. Hispanics fall in the middle on both their own and their mother's age at first birth. Thus, while we find no support for the "role model" theory when looking at the total sample, when we look within racial and ethnic groups there does appear to be a consistent pattern, the younger the mother's age at first birth, the younger the respondent's and the older the mother's age at first birth, the older the respondent's age at first birth.

Number of Siblings

As shown in Table 6, two percent of the total sample had no brothers or sisters. One quarter (26%) had 1-3 siblings; 38 percent had 4-6; and 34 percent had seven or more brothers and sisters. These figures indicate more than 70 percent of the respondents grew up in large families with four or more siblings.

Number of siblings is similar for black and Hispanic respondents. White respondents, on the other hand, report growing up with fewer brothers and sisters living in the household. Only 18 percent of the white respondents have 7 or more siblings as compared to 37 percent of the black and 36 percent of the Hispanic respondents.

Sister Had Baby Prior Age 18

Having a sister who was also a teenage mother has been found to influence rates of adolescent fertility (Hogan, Astone and Kitagawa, 1985). Forty-five

percent of the total Cook County sample had a sister who had a baby before the age of 18. Thus, almost half of the sample grew up in a household where there was another adolescent parent. More of the black respondents (49%) reported having a sister who was also a teenage parent than whites (35%) or Hispanics (39%).

While conclusions cannot be drawn from simple percentage distributions, these data do suggest that within racial and ethnic groups some type of "role" model effect may be present, at least among the blacks.

We now turn to sources of social support which are available to and utilized by these young mothers. These sources of support may serve to intervene between the personal and family background characteristics of the young woman and her actual behavior in terms of finishing school and having a second birth.

Chapter 6

SOURCES OF SUPPORT

In order to understand the wide range of adaptations these young mothers make to welfare dependency, it is necessary to find out what types of social support are available to and used by these young women. Social support may include family and friends, church or other local neighborhood groups, or organized government services. This chapter examines five possible sources of social support among this sample of young mothers:

1) living arrangement
2) child care
3) contact with father
4) welfare history
5) service utilization

Distributions of these factors for the total sample and the three subgroups are described below.

Living Arrangement

At the time of the 1983-84 follow-up interview, a majority of the young women in our sample were 18 or above, have one or more children, and their own AFDC grant. Under these circumstances a young woman could move out of her parent's home and set up a separate household. On the otherhand, to the extent that the young mother remains in her parental household, she is more likely to receive support from her family in the form of help with child care, parenting or financial aid. Table 7 shows current living arrangements at the time of first pregnancy and at the follow-up interview for our total sample and the three subsamples.

Table 7

Living Arrangements among Adolescent AFDC Mothers in Cook County, 1983-84. (Percentage Distribution)

Living Arrangement	Total N=894	Black N=589	White N=110	Hispanic N=195
LIVING ARRANGEMENT AT TIME OF FIRST PREGNANCY				
Both Parents	19.1	15.6	28.2	24.6
Mother Only	63.5*	71.1	49.1	48.7
Other	17.4	13.3	22.7	26.7
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
LIVING ARRANGEMENT AT TIME OF FOLLOW-UP INTERVIEW				
Both Parents	8.7	8.5	16.4	5.1
Mother Only	42.3	49.2	40.0	22.6
(Mother/Older Female Relative**)	(47.3)	(55.8)	(41.8)	(24.6)
Husband/Boyfriend	8.2	4.4	20.9	12.3
Other	35.8	31.3	20.9	58.0
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
NEVER MOVE OUT OF PARENTAL HOUSEHOLD	40.4	49.9	27.3	19.0

* Includes 3 percent living with mother and stepfather.
**Includes grandmothers, aunts, and other older female relatives.

At the time they first became pregnant, most (83%) of the girls were living with one or both parents. Fewer than one out of five of these young women were living apart from their parents either alone, or with spouses, peers or other adult friends and relatives when they became pregnant the first

time. Blacks were less likely to be living apart from their mother or parents at the time of their first pregnancy than were either white or Hispanic respondents.

By the time of the follow-up interview in 1983-84, only half of the young women were still living with their parents and of these, the majority were living with their mother only (42%). Another five percent were living with their mother or another older female relative (See Table 7). Only 9 percent of the total sample were still living with both parents. Eight percent were living with husbands or boyfriends and the remaining 36 percent were living alone with their children, with friends or other relatives.

Changes in living arrangement following the birth of their first child are different for the three racial and ethnic groups. These results show that white respondents are more likely to be living with both parents at the time of the follow-up interview, than are either blacks or Hispanics. When we look at those young women living with their mother only, however, blacks are much more likely to still be living with their mother, than are either white or Hispanic respondents. Close to half (49%) are still living with their mothers, as compared to 40 percent of the young white respondents and 23 percent of the Hispanics. Differences are even greater when we look at the proportions living with their mother or another older female relative. Fifty-six percent of the black respondents are living with their mother or some older female relative at the time of the follow-up interview as compared to 42 percent of the whites and 25 percent of the Hispanics.

Over half of the young white mothers are still living with one or both parents at the follow-up interview. The remaining white respondents are equally likely to be living with a husband or boyfriend (21%) or to be living on their own, with friends or other relatives (21%).

In contrast, only a quarter of the young Hispanic women in our sample are still living with one or both parents at the time of the follow-up interview. A majority of the young Hispanic respondents report "Other" living arrangements. That is, close to sixty percent of the young Hispanic women are living alone with their children, or with other relatives or friends. Twelve percent of the young Hispanic women were living with husbands or boyfriends at the follow-up interview.

Forty percent of these young women had moved three or more times since their first pregnancy. Because the period of time between first pregnancy and the follow-up interview is not the same for all respondents and because we anticipate that some of these young women may have been married for a while or moved out of their parent's home to live on their on or with a spouse or friend for a time and then returned, we looked at the proportion of these young women who report they have never moved out of their parent's or mother's home. The proportion who have "never moved out of their parental home" gives us a better measure of continued family support following the birth of the first child.

Once again, we see significant differences in the proportion who have never left their parent's home between the three groups. As shown in Table 7, blacks are much more likely to have remained in their parental home. Half of

the young black mothers in this sample have never left their mother's or parental household as compared to approximately one quarter (27%) of the whites and 19 percent of the Hispanics.

These results show that a larger proportion of the young black girls were living in single-parent households at the time they became pregnant with their first child than were the white or Hispanic adolescents in the sample. A larger number of the young black mothers were still living with their mother or some older female relative at the time of the follow-up interview. Thus, young black mothers are less likely to establish separate households of their own and are more likely to raise their children in their mother's or their parent's home than are either the young white or the young Hispanic mothers in this sample.

Moving out of her parent's home and establishing a separate household, either on her own or with a friend or spouse, means that a young woman may be giving up certain types of family support. The establishment of a separate household generally places the primary responsibility for child care on the young mother herself.

Child Care

Moving out of her parent's household does not necessarily mean that the young mother will take full responsibility for child care. However, previous analysis of these data for the state sample indicate that, at the time of the initial 1981-82 survey, girls who were residing in their parent's home were more likely to share caretaking responsibilities with their mother or another adult than were girls who resided apart from their parents. (Testa, 1983).

To determine whether the young mothers in our sample were receiving help with the care of their children, we asked the respondents, "During the past month, who took care of your youngest and next youngest child?" As shown in Table 8, a majority of the respondents reported that she herself had been the principal caretaker for her child or children.

Table 8
Provision of Child Care in the Last Month

Provider	Number	Percent
Respondent	698	78.0
Respondent's Mother	98	11.0
Other	98	11.0
	894	100.0

A majority, 78 percent, of the respondents said that they themselves had taken care of their child(ren) during the past month. Eleven percent reported that their mother had taken care of their child and 11 percent reported someone else had taken care of their child(ren).

The person responsible for child care varied by racial and ethnic group. White and Hispanic respondents were much more likely to report that they themselves had primary responsibility for child care during the past month. Blacks on the other hand, were more likely to share responsibility with someone else, usually the respondent's mother or grandmother.

Contact with Father

Another type of family support which may be available to these young mothers is that provided by the father of their children. Although only a small proportion (5%) of the young women were married at the time of the follow-up survey, a relatively high proportion of the total sample, 46 percent, reported having contact with the father of their child or children.

To determine the type and level of support which these young mothers received from the fathers of their children, respondents were asked the following set of questions.

Table 9
Contact with Father of their Children

	Yes	
	Number	Percent
Do you currently see or hear from the father of (your child/any of your children)?	389	46.3
IF YES:		
A. Does he give you money to pay for household expenses?	92	10.3
B. Does he spend time with you?	157	17.6
C. Does he spend time with (your child/ the children)?	323	36.1
D. Do you and your child(ren) spend time with any of his family?	315	35.2

These figures suggest that close to 50 percent of these young women have contact with the father of their child or children. Almost one in five spend time with the father themselves. Over a third (36%) report that the father spends time with his child(ren). Interestingly, approximately a third of the young women report that they and their children spend time with the father's family. This suggests another source of family support which is available to these young welfare mothers.

The figures above do not control for current marital status or living arrangement. Further analysis, controlling on these variables along with race and ethnicity, is needed to provide information on the role of the father in the lives and support of these young welfare mothers. However, these results do suggest that one in three of these women have some contact with the father of their child(ren) and/or his family.

Welfare History

Table 10 presents the welfare history and current welfare status among our sample of young mothers. All of the young women in this sample had turned to welfare for support of themselves and their children, and all were on AFDC in Oct., 1981. Two years later, in 1983-84, a large majority, 88 percent, of these young mothers were still receiving AFDC.

TABLE 10

Welfare History and Current Welfare Status among Adolescent AFDC Mothers in Cook County by Race and Ethnicity, 1983-84. (Percentage Distribution)

Item	Total N=894	Black N=589	White N=110	Hispanic N=195	Sig.
WELFARE					
Currently Receiving AFDC	88.0	93.0*	77.6*+	90.1+	BHNS WH.05
Ever Off AFDC	19.8	14.6*	37.6*	25.5*	
On Another Grant When First Applied	57.5	64.0*	34.5*	50.8*	
How Long on Other Grant					
Less 5 yrs.	20.4	17.0*	40.0*+	25.0+	BHNS
5-9 yrs.	19.6	18.6	27.5	20.0	WH.05
10+ yrs.	58.7	62.8	30.0	55.0	
Don't know	1.3	1.6	2.5	-	
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	

* $p < .05$
+ $p < .05$ Whites/Hispanics

Thus, at the time of the follow-up interview, only 12 percent of the total sample were no longer receiving AFDC benefits. Only 20 percent* of the total sample had "ever" gone off AFDC since first receiving their own grant.

As shown above, the likelihood of both "currently" being off welfare and of "ever" having gone off AFDC varies significantly by racial and ethnic group. At the time of the follow-up interview, only 7 percent of the blacks and 10 percent of the Hispanics were no longer receiving AFDC benefits. In contrast, almost a quarter (22 %) of the whites were no longer receiving assistance.

*Includes 12 percent currently off AFDC.

Differences between groups are even more striking when we look at the proportions who have "ever gone off" since they first received their own AFDC grant. Over one third (38%) of the whites have gone off of AFDC at least once. One quarter (25%) of the Hispanics but only 15 percent of the black respondents have "ever" gone off of AFDC.

In order to determine past welfare histories of these young women, respondents were asked two sets of questions:

At the time you applied for AFDC the first time, were you yourself, already part of your mother's or someone else's grant?

If the answer was YES, respondents were asked:

A. Who's grant were you on, your mother's, your grandmother's, another relative's, or someone else's grant?

B. How long were you on (PERSON LISTED ABOVE)'s grant?

If the answer was NO, respondents were then asked:

Have you ever been on anyone else's welfare grant?

A. Who's grant were you on?

Seventy percent of the young women in this sample had a history of welfare prior to receiving their own AFDC grant. Fifty-eight percent were on someone else's, primarily their mother's, grant when they first applied for their own grant. Another 12 percent had been on someone else's grant prior to that time. Of those who had been on someone else's grant when they first applied for welfare, close to 60 percent had been on that grant for 10 years or more.

Blacks and Hispanics were more likely to have had welfare experience than white respondents in this sample. Seventy-six percent of the black

respondents and 65 percent of the Hispanics had been on someone else's grant as compared to only 50 percent of the whites. Among those who were on someone else's welfare grant at the time they first applied for AFDC, 63 percent of the blacks and 55 percent of the Hispanics had been on that grant for 10 or more years. Among the whites who were already on someone else's grant, only 30 percent had been on for 10 years or more.

Overall, these results suggest that young white women in our sample are less likely to still be on AFDC at the time of the follow-up interview and are less likely to have had previous welfare experience prior to receiving their own AFDC grant. One in five of the young white mothers had gone off of AFDC by the time of the follow-up interview and close to 40 percent had gone off at least once since first receiving their own grant. Only half of the young white respondents had welfare experience prior to obtaining her own AFDC grant as compared to three-fourths of the black and two-thirds of the Hispanic respondents.

In contrast, black and Hispanic respondents are very similar in terms of both past welfare history and current welfare status. Seventy-five and sixty-five percent respectively had ever been on someone else's grant. Ninety-three percent of the blacks and ninety percent of the Hispanics were still on AFDC at the time of the follow-up interview.

Service Utilization

In an effort to determine what formal sources of social support these young mothers had and used, a series of questions was designed which asked the respondent, first, to identify a problem area (child care, housing, finding a job, etc.) and then asked who or where (what person, local neighborhood group or or organized social agency) she went to for help with this problem.

To find out what these young mothers perceived to be the most significant problems at this stage in their lives, we asked the following question:

> I'm going to read a list of things that are sometimes a problem for young mothers. Please tell me if in the last year each of these things was a "big problem," "somewhat of a problem", or "not a problem at all".
>
> LIST OF PROBLEMS:

Child care	Medical care and bills	Feeling lonely
Rent or housing	Getting enough food	Getting along with family/friends
Finding a job	Getting birth control	
School	Pregnancy	Physical abuse

For each area which was considered a "big problem", the following set of questions was asked:

A. Who did you go to for help with this problem? That is, what person?

B. Did you go to a neighborhood club, church, or other local group?

C. Where did you go?

D. Did you to to an agency or organization?

E. Where did you go?

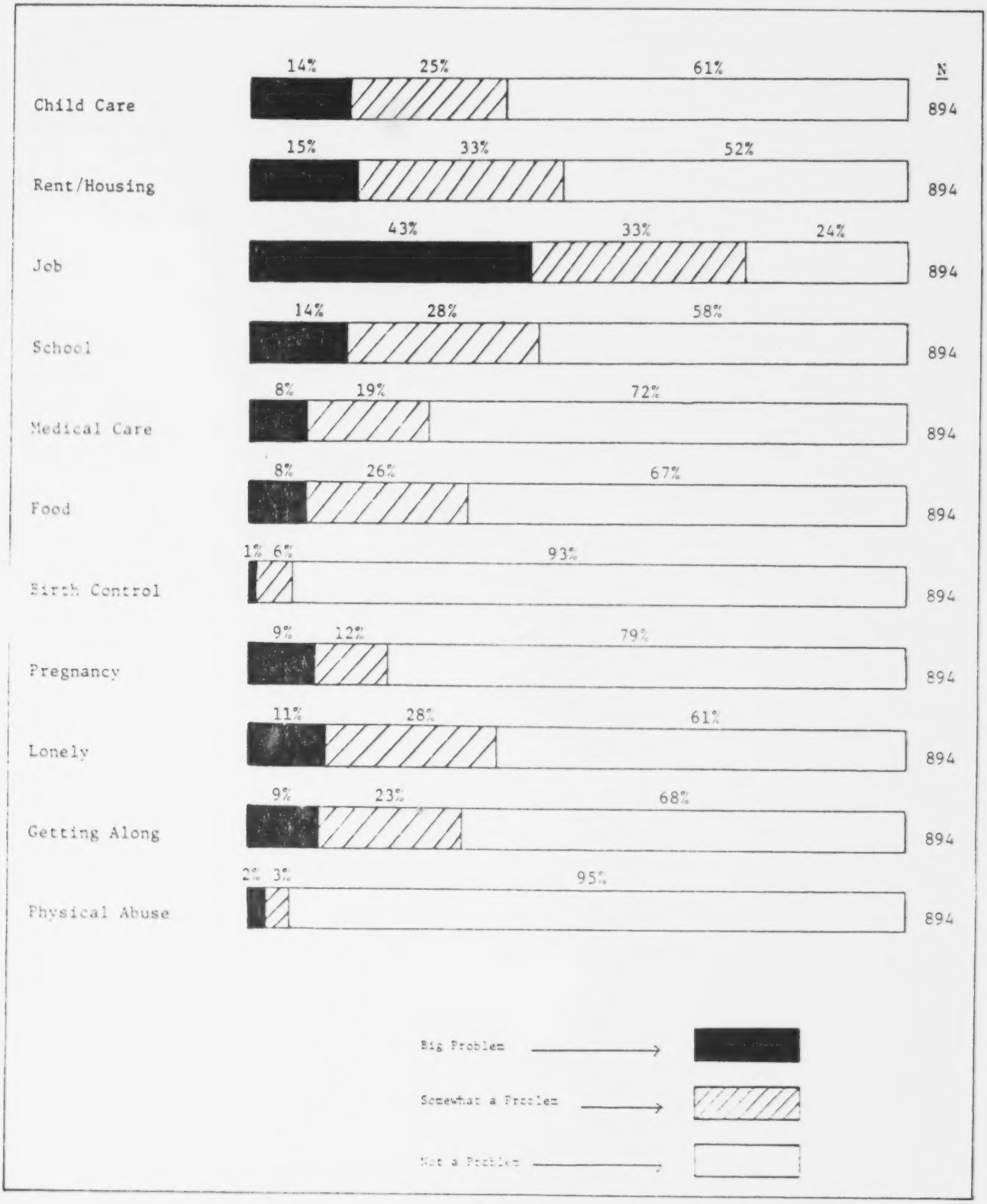
As shown in Table II and Figure 7, a majority of respondents did not feel that any of these areas were "big problems". "Finding a job" was the only area which a large number of young women agreed was a "big problem". Forty-three percent of the young women said that finding a job was a "big problem" at that point in their lives.

Among the other areas, housing was the second most frequently cited problem (15%) followed closely by child care (14%) and school (14%). However, only a small proportion of the sample, felt that any of these other areas were significant problems. Interestingly, the area cited as a problem by the fewest respondents (1%) was getting birth control. Pregnancy was considered a big problem by 9 percent. Physical abuse reportedly was a problem for only a small proportion, (2%), of the sample.

TABLE 11
Perceived Problems and Importance of Problem
Among Adolescent AFDC Mothers in Cook County, 1983-84.
(Percentage Distribution)

Problem Area	Big Problem	Somewhat a Problem	Not a Problem	Total % Number
Child Care	14.1 (126)	24.7 (221)	61.2 (547)	100.0 (894)
Rent/Housing	15.0 (134)	33.2 (297)	51.8 (463)	100.0 (894)
Job	43.2 (386)	32.8 (293)	24.0 (215)	100.0 (894)
School	14.0 (125)	28.4 (254)	57.6 (515)	100.0 (894)
Medical Care	8.4 (75)	19.4 (173)	72.2 (646)	100.0 (894)
Food	7.6 (68)	25.5 (229)	66.9 (597)	100.0 (894)
Birth Control	1.2 (11)	5.7 (51)	93.1 (832)	100.0 (894)
Pregnancy	9.1 (81)	11.5 (103)	79.4 (710)	100.0 (894)
Lonely	10.6 (95)	28.2 (252)	61.2 (547)	100.0 (894)
Getting Along	9.2 (82)	23.0 (206)	67.8 (606)	100.0 (894)
Physical Abuse	2.3 (21)	3.1 (28)	94.6 (845)	100.0 (894)

Figure 7: Perceptions of Problem Areas among Adolescent AFDC Mothers in Cook County, 1983-84.



Two areas which we might anticipate would be problems for these young women--all of whom have small children--are medical care and food. Less than 10 percent of the young women felt that these two areas were big problems. The fact that AFDC recipients receive a green card to cover medical expenses may explain the fact that medical care or expenses were not perceived as significant problems.

When we look at what areas were considered "somewhat a problem", 20-30 percent of the young women felt that all of the areas listed were somewhat of a problem. Again the exceptions were birth control (6%), pregnancy (12%), and physical abuse (3%) which were considered "somewhat a problem" by only a few of the respondents.

As shown in Table 11, from one-half to three-quarters of all respondents stated that each of the areas had not been a problem ("not a problem") for them during the last year. The exception was "finding a job" which three-quarters of the young women felt was a significant problem. These results suggest that young women in our sample do not perceive of themselves as having a lot of problems. Getting a job, housing, child care and school were their major concerns.

Young women who reported having any "big problems" were then asked, "Who did you go to for help with this problem? That is, what person?" Responses to this question are shown in Table 12. Column one contains the percentage and number of young women who stated each area was a "big problem". Columns 2-6 show to whom, (what person), the young women went for help with her problem.

TABLE 12

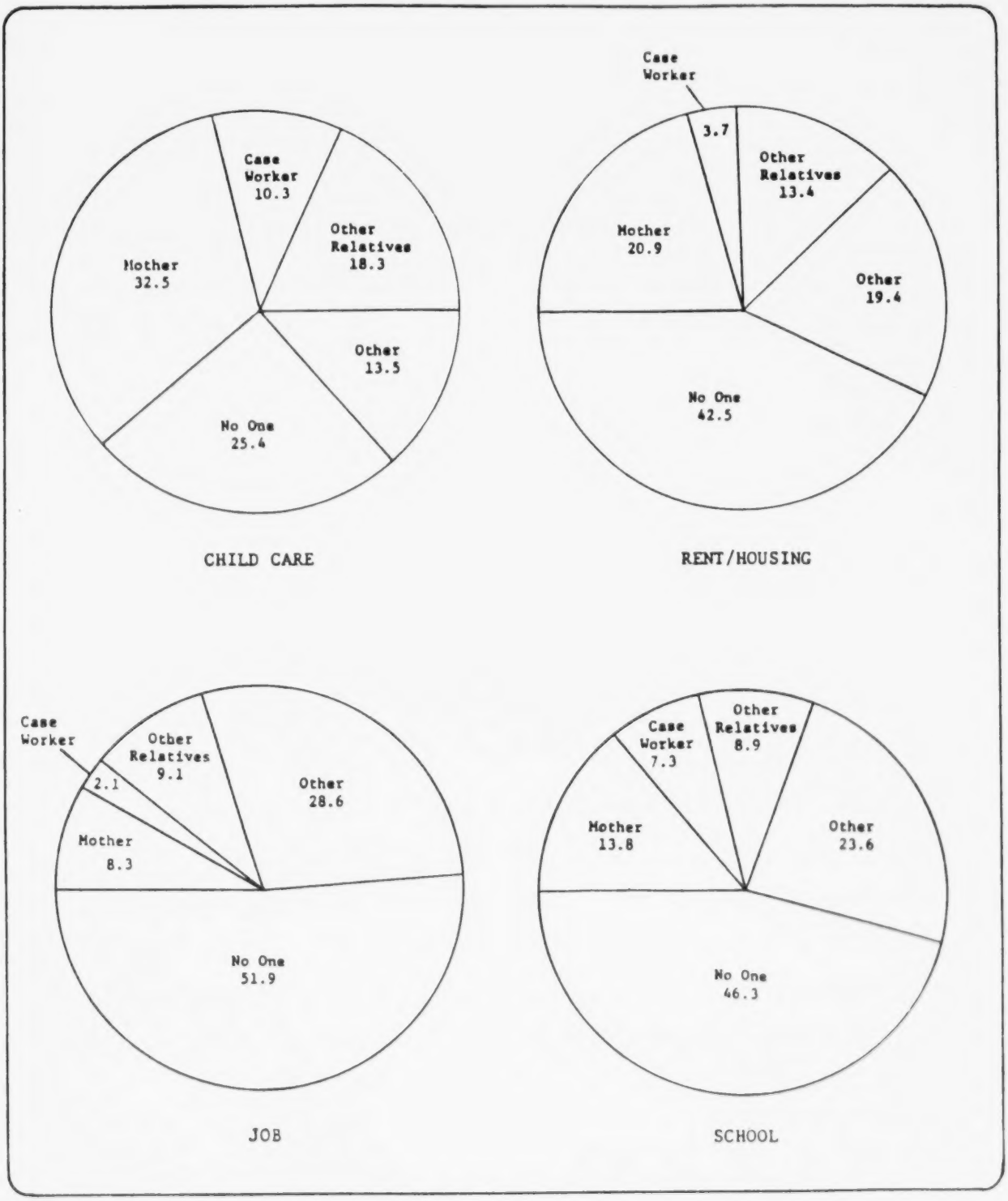
Persons Who Served as Sources of Help With "Big Problems", Adolescent AFDC Mothers in Cook County, 1983-84.

Problem Area	Had Big Problem %/Number	Source of Help				
		No One	Mother	Case Worker	Other Relative	Other
Child Care	14.1 (126)	25.4 (32)	32.5 (41)	10.3 (13)	18.3 (23)	13.5 (17)
Rent/Housing	15.0 (134)	42.5 (57)	20.9 (28)	3.7 (5)	13.4 (18)	19.4 (26)
Job	43.2 (386)	51.9 (194)	8.3 (31)	2.1 (8)	9.1 (34)	28.6 (107)**
School	14.0 (125)	46.3 (57)	13.8 (17)	7.3 (9)	8.9 (11)	23.6* (29)**
Medical Care	8.4 (75)	53.3 (40)	20.0 (15)	9.3 (7)	13.3 (10)	4.0 (3)
Food	7.6 (68)	33.8 (23)	22.1 (15)	13.2 (9)	14.7 (10)	16.2 (11)
Birth Control	1.2 (11)	18.2 (2)	9.1 (1)	-	-	72.7+ (8)
Pregnancy	9.1 (81)	24.6 (20)	28.5 (23)	-	11.2 (9)	35.7# (29)
Lonely	10.6 (95)	54.6 (53)	12.4 (12)	-	11.3 (10)	21.7 (21)
Getting Along	9.2 (82)	57.8 (47)	3.6 (3)	2.4 (2)	8.4 (6)	27.7 (24)
Physical Abuse	2.3 (21)	42.9 (9)	14.3 (3)	-	4.6 (1)	38.2 (8)

*Includes 15% went to School Personnel
+Includes 36.4% went to Doctor
#Includes 19% went to Doc/Nurse
**Totals not consistent with column 1 because of no information on some respondents.

As shown in Figure 8, our results suggest that many of these young women do not go to anyone for help with their problems. From one-quarter to one-

Figure 8: Person Who Served as Source of Help with "Big Problem".



half of the respondents said that they went to "no one" for help. The respondent's mother was the next most frequently cited source of help. Respondents were more likely to go to their mothers for help with child care (33%), and pregnancy (29%) followed by food (22%), rent (21%) and medical care (20%). While the respondent's mother was the most frequently cited source of help, "other relatives" was the second most important source. Column 5 , "Other relatives" includes father, grandmother, sister, aunts, uncles, and cousins.

Relatively few of the respondents, 13 percent or less, had gone to her caseworker for help with a problem. Food and child care were the areas where help was most frequently sought from a caseworker.

The "Other" category in column 6 includes a very wide range of people including minister/clergy, neighborhood worker, teacher/school counselor, and friend. Responses were widely scattered over these other people who had served as sources of help.

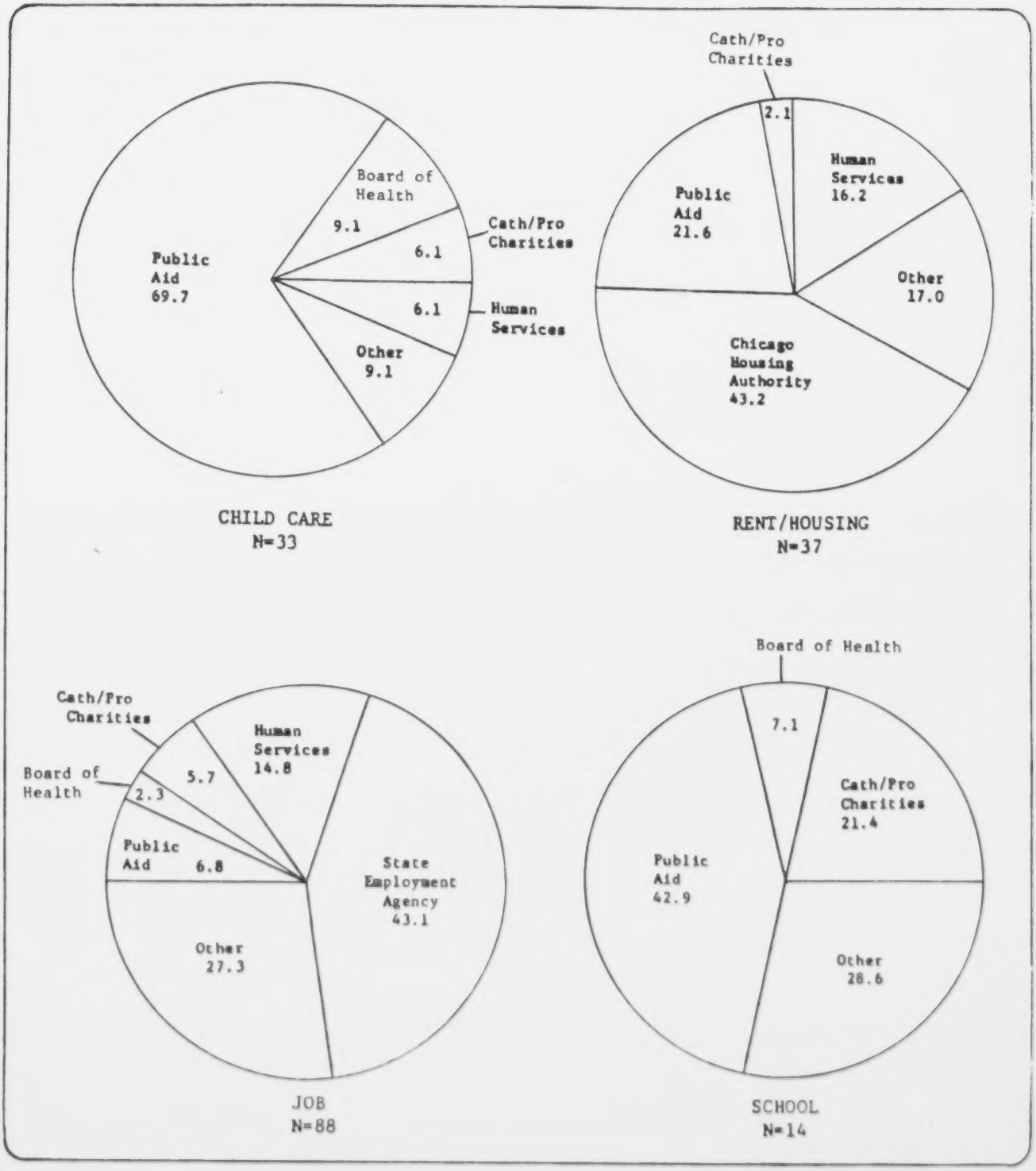
To find out if these young mothers used local sources of help, respondents were asked: " Did you go to a neighborhood club, church, or other local group for help with this problem?". Use of local sources of help such as the church, neighborhood organizations or social clubs was very limited among this sample of young welfare mothers. Among the four hundred or more respondents who reported having a "big problem" in the last year, only 54 young women, (6 percent of the total sample) had gone to any local group for help with their problems.

Respondents were then asked, "Did you go to an agency or organization?" If yes, "Where did you go, which of these agencies or organizations?" A list of agencies and organizations was then shown to the respondent.

As shown in Figure 9, few of the young women who reported having a "big problem" had used formal sources of support. Fewer than one-quarter of the young women who reported having a big problem in any of the areas reported having gone to any agency or organization. Among those who did go, Public Aid, Human Services, State Employment Services, BOH Clinic, and Catholic and Protestant Charities were the most frequently cited formal sources of help.

Overall, these results suggest, first, that these young women do not perceive of themselves as having a lot of problems, and secondly, of those that do have problems, most do not seek out help with their problems. Among those young women who stated they had a "big problem", the majority did not go to anyone for help. Among those who did seek help, a majority turned to their mother and other relatives. Very little use of local sources of help such as a church or neighborhood group was reported. Only 6 percent of the young women said they had gone to a local source for help. Reported use of organized social services was also quite low. Only 10 percent reported having gone to any agency or organization for help with a problem. Some caution must be used in interpreting where these young women went for help because relatively few of the total sample reported going to anyone for help and the actual numbers are quite small. The numbers are also too small to allow comparison of service utilization among the three racial and ethnic groups.

Figure 9: Agency or Organization which Served as Source of Help with "Big Problem".



Chapter 7

FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH FINISHING HIGH SCHOOL AMONG ADOLESCENT WELFARE MOTHERS

The preceding chapters have provided a profile of our sample of adolescent AFDC mothers in Cook County. Selected personal and family background characteristics of these young women were presented for the total sample and for the three racial and ethnic groups. Sources of social support available to and utilized by these young mothers were also described. We now want to look at the relationships between these selected characteristics and support factors and the probability of finishing high school and having a second birth among this sample of young women. To do this, we will use the statistical technique of regression analysis.

If we were to pick a girl at random from our sample of young welfare mothers, and we knew only her race and ethnicity, the best prediction we could make of the likelihood of her finishing school is the proportion of girls in her racial and ethnic group who had graduated or gotten a GED. From Table 13, we see that this proportion is 24.6 for young black mothers in our sample, 13.7 for whites and 8.7 for Hispanics. This simple crosstabulation of school status by race and ethnicity shows that blacks in our sample are much more likely to finish high school than are whites or Hispanics.

Table 13

School Status by Race and Ethnicity
(Percentage Distribution)

School Status	Total N=894	Black N=589	White N=110	Hispanic N=195
In School	7.6	9.2	2.7	5.1
Graduated/GED	19.7	24.6	13.7	8.7
Not in School	72.7	66.2	83.6	86.2
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

We would now like to further explore this relationship between school status, race and ethnicity through regression analysis. Regression analysis allows us to look at the effects of one factor while "controlling" the effects of other factors. We will introduce statistical "controls" in the form of other factors such as age or living arrangement which might affect the probability that a young woman finishes high school independent of her race and ethnicity. Our goal is to reduce the differences in the likelihood of finishing school among blacks, white and Hispanics until they are no longer statistically significant. If the differences between the three subsamples are reduced to statistical insignificance, we can then say that differences in the probability of completing high school are primarily a function of factors, or a combination of factors, other than race and ethnicity.

Results of our regression analysis, see Appendix B, suggest that the following factors are associated with the probability that a young woman in our sample will finish high school:

- Race and ethnicity
- Age at interview
- Number of children
- In school when first pregnant
- Educational aspirations
- Job since first pregnancy
- Living arrangement
- Child care
- Welfare history

Age at Interview

As would be expected, our results show that the older the young woman at the time of the follow-up survey, the more likely she is to have graduated from high school or gotten a GED.

Controlling for age alone does not significantly reduce differences in school status between the three groups. That is, among girls who are the same age at the time of the follow-up interview, blacks are still more likely to have finished high school than are either whites or Hispanics.

Number of Children

Young women who have had a second child are much less likely to have finished school than are young women who have had only one child. Even when we control for these other factors, subsequent births are associated with reduced likelihood of a young woman in this sample having finished school.

Adding age and number of children to the list of "controls", does not significantly reduce differentials in school status among black, white and Hispanic respondents.

In School when First Pregnant

The factor which does seem to reduce differentials between the three groups is the fact of being in school at the time the young woman first became pregnant. As previously discussed, the proportion of respondents who were in school at the time they first became pregnant differs significantly between the three racial and ethnic groups. Only 5 percent of the black respondents were not in school when they got pregnant the first time as compared to (45%) of the whites and (40%) of the Hispanics. Introduction of this variable into the regression equation does reduce the differences between black and white respondents to statistical insignificance. This means that when we look only at those women who were in school at first pregnancy, there is no difference

in the likelihood of finishing high school between black and white respondents. (Likewise, when we look at only those young women who were not in school, the probability of returning to school and graduating is the same for blacks and whites.) Differences for Hispanics, however, remain significant. Controlling for all these other factors, Hispanics are still less likely to graduate from high school than are black or white adolescents in this sample.

Educational Aspirations

Among our sample of young mothers on welfare, those young women with high educational aspirations are more likely to have graduated than those with low aspirations. It could also be that dropping out of school lowers educational aspirations. Previous studies have shown that teenagers who become pregnant have greatly reduced educational attainment (Hofferth and Moore, 1979), and reduced educational attainment may lower aspirations. Further analysis of these data are necessary to determine the direction of this relationship.

Job since First Pregnancy

The probability of finishing high school is greater for those young women who have held a job and worked for pay since their first pregnancy than for those who have not. There is very little difference in the proportion who have held a job since first pregnancy between the three subgroups and controlling on this factor does not significantly change relationships between the three groups.

Living Arrangement

Those young women in our sample who "never moved out of their mother's or parent's household" are much more likely to have completed school than are those who moved out on their own or to live with a spouse, other relative or friend. A young woman who remains in her parental household would be expected to receive more support from her family than those living apart from mother or parents. For example, young women who continue to live with their mother are more likely to receive help with child care (Testa, 1983), which in turn, would make it easier for the young woman to remain in school and graduate or to return if she had dropped out.

Young black women in this sample are more likely to continue living with their mother or parents. However, when we control on race and ethnicity the fact of "never moving out the parental household" increases the probability of finishing school independent of her race and ethnicity. These results suggest that remaining in the parents' or mother's household is an important factor in determining whether or not a young mother in this sample finishes school.

Child Care

Our regression analysis also shows that those young mothers who had help with child care, either from their mother or someone else, are more likely to have completed high school. This relationship between having help with child care and a greater probability of completing school holds even when we control for the effects of age, living arrangement, race and ethnicity.

Welfare History

Those young women in the sample who had no previous history of welfare prior to obtaining their own AFDC grant are more likely to have graduated or gotten a GED than are those with previous welfare experience.

Summary

Results of our regression analysis have identified a set of factors which increase the likelihood that a young woman in our sample will finish high school or get a GED. More importantly, our results have identified a group of young women in our sample who are the least likely to finish school. Among our sample of young welfare mothers, the group who are most "at risk" of dropping out and not finishing high school are those who:

- are Hispanic
- are younger
- have had a second child
- were not in school when they first became pregnant
- have lower educational aspirations
- have not held a job since their first pregnancy
- have moved out of their parental household
- do not have help with child care
- have previous welfare experience

When the effects of other factors (age, number of children, school status at first pregnancy, job since first pregnancy, educational aspirations, living arrangement, child care and welfare history) are controlled, we find no significant difference in the probability of finishing school between black and white respondents in our sample. The difference between black and Hispanics however remains significant with blacks being much more likely to remain in school and graduate than are their Hispanic peers.

Chapter 8

FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH SECOND BIRTHS AMONG ADOLESCENT WELFARE MOTHERS

We know from our previous discussion that young black women in our sample have more children than do either the whites or Hispanics. Table 14 shows that the proportion of blacks who have two or more children at the time of the follow-up interview is 52 percent compared to 40 percent for whites and 46 percent for Hispanics. As with school status, we will now explore this relationship between second birth, race and ethnicity more fully using regression analysis.

Table 14
Number of Children by Race and Ethnicity
(Percentage Distribution)

Number of Children	Total N=894	Black N=589	White N=110	Hispanic N=195
1 Child	51.1	48.2	60.0	53.8
2 Children	38.6	38.6	36.4	41.5
3+ Children	10.3	13.2	3.6	4.6
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Our results suggest that the following factors are associated with the probability that a young woman in our sample will have a second birth:

- Age at first birth
- Age at interview
- School status
- Job since first pregnancy
- Number of siblings
- Ever move out of parental household
- Child care
- Contact with father

Age at First Birth

Results of the regression analysis show that among our sample, the younger a girl is when she has her first child, the more likely she is to have a second birth.

Girls who begin childbearing at younger ages have a longer exposure to the risk of subsequent prenancy than do girls who delay the birth of their first child. Previous studies have also shown that the younger the age at first birth, the less likely the young girl is to practice contraception (Hofferth, 1984). Therefore, our findings relating a younger age at first birth to a greater probability of having a second birth would be expected and are consistent with findings from previous research.

A more important result, however, is the fact that when we control for age at first birth, the apparent difference in the probability of having a second or higher order birth between our three racial and ethnic groups disappears. That is, when we look at those girls who had their first child at the same age, for example, below the age of 15, there is no significant difference between the probability of having a second birth among black, white or Hispanic adolescents in our sample.

Thus, the apparent difference we see in the probability of second or higher births among blacks as opposed to whites and Hispanics is due primarily to difference in age at first birth among the three groups. Blacks in our sample are much more likely to have their first child at younger ages than either whites or Hispanics. Twenty-four percent of the blacks had a child before the age of 15 compared with 13 percent of the whites and 8 percent of the Hispanics.

When we control for the effects of other factors in our regression equation, for example, "age at interview", "ever move out of the parental household" or "contact with the father" we increase the overall predictive value of the equation slightly, (R^2 = .165) but differences in the probability of having a second birth by race and ethnicity remain insignificant.

Age at Interview

The age of the young woman at the time of the follow-up interview was significantly related to the probability of having a second birth. As would be expected, young women who were older at the time of the survey were more likely to have had a second child. Further analysis is needed to determine the relationship between age, duration of exposure and the risk of a second birth among this sample of young women.

School Status

If the young woman has remained in school and graduated from high school or gotten a GED she is much less likely to have a second birth. Numerous studies have reported positive relationships between dropping out of school and adolescent fertility (Card and Wise, 1976). Our results are consistent with these studies because they also show the probability of having a second birth is greater among those young women who are not in school and who have not finished high school.

However, like so many of the existing studies which relate school status to subsequent births, our results do not allow us to determine the direction of this relationship. That is, are young women who drop out of school more likely to have subsequent births, or does the addition of another child cause the young women to drop out of school. Unfortunately, results of our current analysis do not provide an answer to this question. We hope to explore this question more fully in subsequent analyses of these data.

Job Since First Pregnancy

Those young women who have "held a job since they became pregnant the first time" are less likely to have had a second birth than are those young women who had not worked since their first pregnancy.

Although exactly how holding a job influences the probability of subsequent births among adolescents has not been determined, several studies have offered hypotheses. One suggestion is that young women who work have more exposure to opportunities and roles other than being a mother. Career aspirations may increase as teenagers find and work at a job. The practical experience of a job may enhance skills of the teenager to manipulate the public (extrafamilial) world, and is likely to increase her sense of competence in dealing with institutions outside of the school and family (Hogan and Kitagawa, 1985).

A second hypothesis is that young women who work outside the home are better informed and subsequently practice birth control more effectively. A recent study of teenagers in Chicago found that the percentage who used a contraceptive method at the most recent sexual intercourse was 70 percent for those with work experience compared to 49 percent for those without (Hogan and Kitagawa, 1985). Although we cannot draw definite conclusions, the fact that young women in our sample who have held a job were less likely to have had a second child could lend support to one or both of these hypotheses.

Number of Siblings

The only family background characteristics that had an effect on the probability of having a second birth among our sample is number of siblings. Those young women who grew up in households with large numbers of brothers and sisters are more likely to have had two or more children themselves.

Ever Move Out of Mother's/Parent's Household

Among our sample, girls who move out of their mother's or parent's household are more likley to have a second birth. And conversly, those girls who have remained with their mother or parents and have never set up a separate household of their own are less likely to have had a second birth.

Child Care

Respondents who report that they take care of their own children are more likely to have two or more children than are those who report that their mother or someone else helps to take care of their child.

Those respondents who have help with child care would be freer to remain in school or get a job. The relationship between responsibility for child care and second birth holds even when school status and other factors are held constant.

Contact with Father

Although only a small proportion of these young women have ever been married (10%) or are currently married (5%), a large number (46%) report that they have contact with the father of their child or children.

The young women in our sample who say they see or hear from the father of their child(ren) are more likely to have a second birth. This result is not surprising since having contact with the father most likely means more exposure to sexual intercourse and thus greater risk of prenancy and childbirth.

Summary

When we look at the combination of factors which "predict" the likelihood of having a second birth among our sample of young welfare mothers the following profile emerges. Young women in our sample are more likely to have had a second child if they:

- were younger when their first child was born
- are older at the follow-up interview
- have not completed high school and are not in school
- have not held a job since their first pregnancy
- have large numbers of brothers and sisters
- moved out of their parental household
- do not have help with child care
- have contact with the father of their child or children

Each of these factors affects the likelihood that a young mother in our sample will have a second child independent of her race and ethnicity. When we control the effects of these other factors, primarily age at first birth, we find no difference in the probability of having a second child among the young black, white and Hispanic mothers in our sample.

Timing of Second Births:

At the time of the follow-up interview, 49 percent of the total sample had a second child and 7 percent were pregnant with their second child. In order to better understand the factors associated with second births among our sample of young welfare mothers, we need to look at timing as well as the frequency of subsequent births. "When" a young woman has her second child... in relation to other areas of her life such as school, job, or welfare... may be just as important as the event itself.

In order to look at timing of second births among our sample of young welfare mothers we use a standard life table technique. Life table analysis provides cumulative probabilities of having a second birth based upon "waiting time", or in this case, "exposure time", since the first live birth. Length of exposure to the risk of pregnancy and having a second child will not be the same for all young women in our sample because, for some, exposure to the risk of having a second birth will be cut short or "censored" by the date of the interview. For example, a young woman who had her first child at age 14 three years before the initial interview will have a longer "exposure or waiting" time than does the young woman who had her first birth at age 17 six months before the interview. Life table, or survival analysis as this technique is also called, controls or equalizes the duration of exposure and allows us to examine the "risk" of having a second birth at various intervals (months) following the birth of the first child. Use of this technique allows us to estimate the probability that a young woman in this sample would have a second child at selected intervals, (12 months, 24 or 36 months) after the birth of

their first child. These estimates are based upon the timing and pregnancy experience of the total sample of young women.

Results of our life table analysis indicate that among this sample of young welfare mothers, 12 percent are expected to have a second birth one year after their first birth. One third (35%) of the young women can be expected to have a second birth two years after their first birth and over half (52%) of the sample are expected to have a second child within three years following the birth of their first child. Figure 10 presents these results graphically.

Figure 10 provides a "survival" curve for our sample of young mothers which gives the probability of "surviving" or not having a second child at monthly intervals following the first live birth. This plot shows that the entire sample "survives" (does not have a second child) for the first few months following the first child's birth. By the 12th month, however, the survival curve drops to 88 percent indicating that 12 percent of these young women are expected to have a second child within one year of their first. By 24 months the survival curve has dropped to 65 percent and by 36 months to 48 percent. Thus, based upon timing of second births among young women in this sample, over half can be expected to have a second child within three years after the birth of their first child.

Estimated timing of the second birth among our sample of young mothers is similar to patterns of second pregnancies reported for national samples of adolescent mothers in the U.S. Two different studies using national samples report that, during the year following a first birth, 17 percent of all teenage mothers become pregnant with a second child (Ford, 1983; Furstenberg and

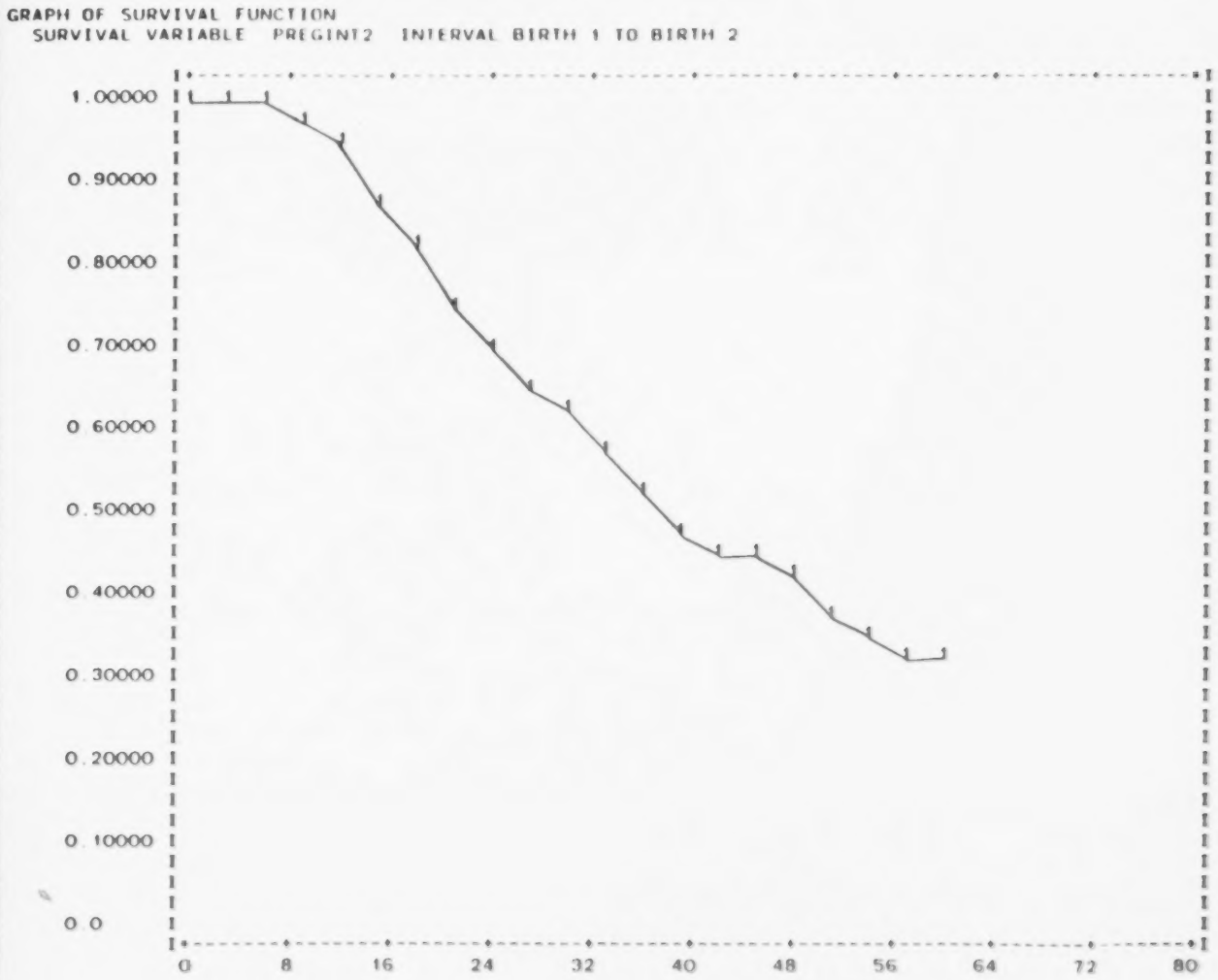


Figure 10: Cumulative Probability of Second Live Birth, Adolescent AFDC Mothers in Cook County, 1983-84.

Zelnick, 1982). By 24 months after the first birth, 31 percent of the national sample were reported to be pregnant (Koenig and Zelnick, 1982). The 17 percent figure for the national samples is higher than the 12 percent for the APUS sample, but the former figure refers to pregnancies and our 12 percent figure refers to actual births. Although the proportion of pregnancies that end in a live birth is dependent upon the likelihood of abortion and miscarriage within a given population, overall patterns in terms of timing of second births appear similar to those reported among adolescent mothers nationwide.

These same studies found little difference between blacks and whites in the risk of having a second pregnancy but reported significant differences by socioeconomic status. Pregnancy rates among women with incomes less than 150 percent of poverty level were reported to be nearly twice as high as rates among women who had incomes above that level--21 percent vs. 11 percent (Ford, 1983).

To discover if there were differences in the risk or probability of having a second birth within our total sample, we constructed separate survival tables according to characteristics of the respondents. For example, we constructed separate survival tables for black, white and Hispanic respondents. Distributions of the probability of second births were then compared statistically to determine if the subsamples came from different survival distributions.

Our results suggest that there is no difference in timing of the second births among the three racial and ethnic groups. Similar proportions in all three groups had second births by 12, 24 and 36 months after the first birth.

Since our results show that race and ethnicity have no influence on timing of second births among this sample, we then looked at a number of other factors to see if any significant differences in timing could be found. The factors which appear to affect the timing of second births among this group of young welfare mothers are shown in Table 15. Table 15 gives the proportion of young women expected to have second child at 12, 24 and 36 month intervals following the birth of their first child. Probabilities of a second birth are shown for selected subgroups.

TABLE 15

Cumulative Probability of Second Live Births by Number of Months Following First Live Birth by Selected Characteristics of Adolescent AFDC Mothers in Cook County, 1983-84.

Months After First Life Birth	Selected Characteristics			Lee-Desu
	Education			P < .01
	Less Grade 12	Grade 12 +		
	N=719	N=177		
12	.13	.04		
24	.39	.19		
36	.57	.31		
	Job Since First Pregnancy			P < .01
	No	Yes		
	N=618	N=215		
12	.13	.06		
24	.38	.25		
36	.57	.38		
	Mother's Education			P < .05
	Elementary	Some High School	Grade 12 +	
	N=210	N=247	N=251	
12	.13	.09	.11	
24	.41	.33	.30	
36	--	.45	.46	
	Sister Had Baby At Less 18 Years			P < .05
	No	Yes		
	N=495	N=401		
12	.08	.16		
24	.33	.37		
36	.49	.54		
	Welfare History on Mother's Grant			P < .05
	0-9 Yrs.	10 + Yrs.		
	N=590	N=306		
12	.11	.13		
24	.31	.41		
36	.48	.58		
	Current Welfare Status			P < .01
	Receiving AFDC	Off AFDC		
	N=789	N=107		
12	.12	.07		
24	.36	.22		
36	.54	.33		

As shown in Table 15, whether or not the young woman has completed high school significantly affects "when" she has a second birth. Figure 11 graphically portrays this relationship between having completed 12th grade and the probability of having a second birth among this sample. The likelihood of having a second child is less among those young women who have completed 12 grades or more than among those who have not, and this is true for all intervals since the first birth. One year after the first birth, only 4 percent of those who have completed high school had a second birth as compared to 13 percent of those who have not. After two years, 19 percent of those with high school diplomas are expected to have had a second child compared to 39 percent of those without. Three years after the first birth, only 31 percent of those who have completed high school are expected to have a second birth compared to almost twice as many, 57 percent, who have not finished school.

Other factors which were found to influence the timing of second births among this sample include: job since first pregnancy; mother's education; sister had baby less 18; welfare history; and current welfare status. Those young women who have not held a job since their first pregnancy are more likely to have a second birth at 12, 24 and 36 months after their first child was born. Respondents whose mothers did not attend high school are more likely to have a second child and to do it more quickly than those girls whose mothers attended high school. Girls whose sister was also an adolescent parent were more likely to have a second child. Both past and current welfare status were found to influence rate of second birth among this sample. Those women who had been on someone else's grant for 10 years or more were more likely to have a second child within three years of their first than are those

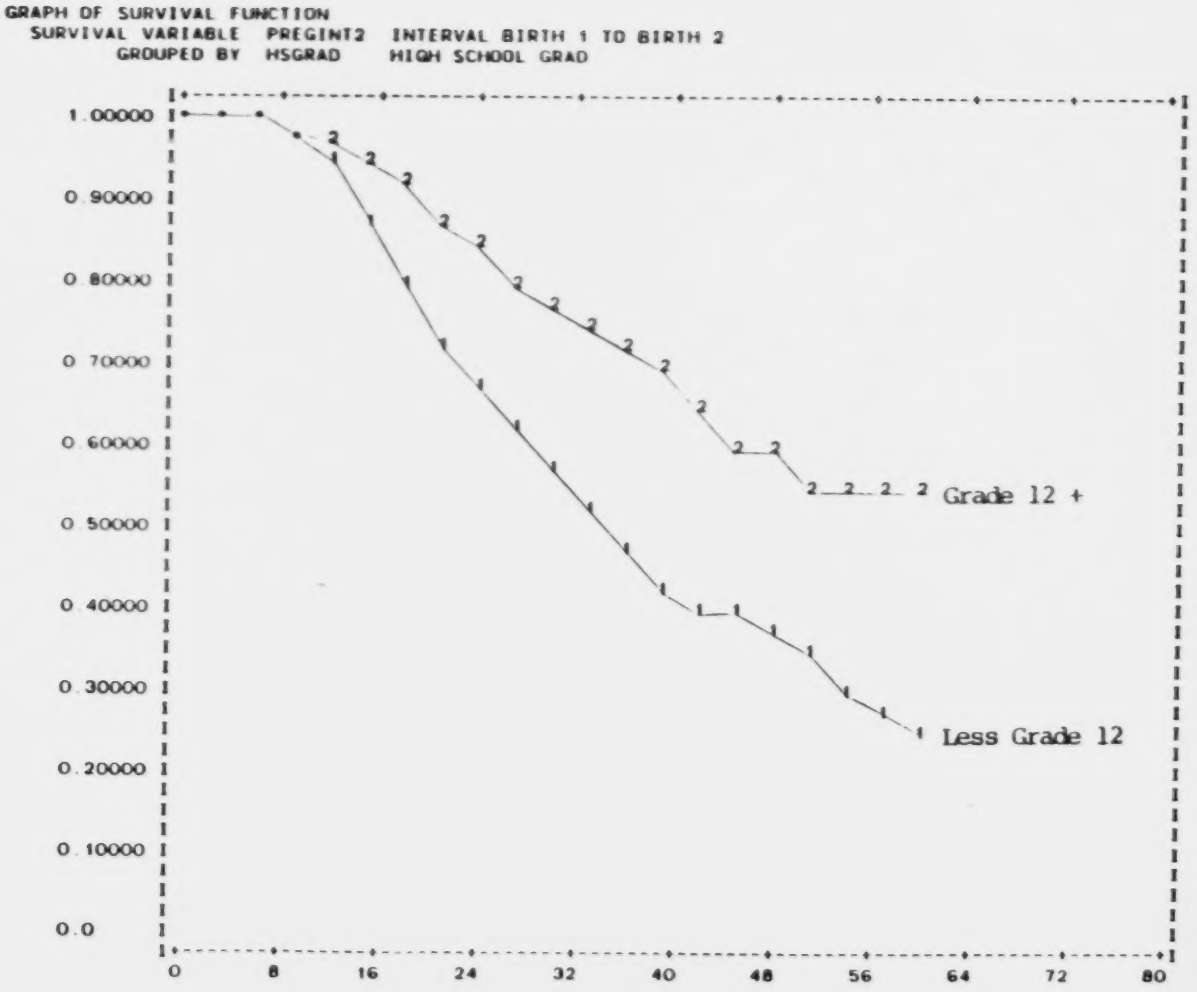


Figure 11: Cumulative Probability of Second Live Birth by Educational Attainment, Adolescent AFDC Mothers in Cook County, 1983-84.

young women who had never been on anyone else's grant or had been on someone else's grant for less than 10 years. These results show that young women who were still receiving AFDC are much more likely to have a second birth than are those young women who have gone off of AFDC. Only one-third (33%) of those who were no longer receiving AFDC at the follow-up interview are expected to have a second child at 36 months after their first compared to 54 percent of those still on AFDC.

To summarize our findings on timing of second births among our sample of young AFDC mothers, we estimate that over fifty percent of the total sample will have a second child within three years of her first. No difference in the incidence or timing of second births could be found among the three racial and ethnic groups. Factors which did seem to make a difference in the probability of a second birth among this group of adolescent mothers were:

-whether or not the young woman had finished high school;
-whether or not she had held a job since her first pregnancy;
-her mother's educational level;
-whether she had a sister who was also a teenage parent;
-her welfare history and current welfare status.

Chapter 9

CONTRACEPTION

One of the most obvious factors determining both rate and timing of second births among any population is use of contraception. Pregnancy rates among teenagers reflect the level of contraceptive use, and the highest rates of premarital pregnancy occur among blacks (Hogan, Astone and Kitagawa, 1985). By 1979, 30 percent of black teenage women in metropolitan areas in the U.S. had had a premarital pregnancy, and the figure for comparable whites was 14 percent (Zelnick and Kantner, 1980). Figures for Hispanic adolescent are not available.

This section will examine contraceptive use among our sample of adolescent welfare mothers. Differences in both past and current use of contraception will be examined for the total sample, and for black, white and Hispanic respondents. Patterns of change and reasons for non-use will also be described.

Contraceptive use has been measured in a variety of ways including: ever (or never) used any method of contraception; frequency of contraceptive use; whether used contraception at last intercourse; and effectiveness of method used. The variable most commonly used to describe current contraceptive use is whether the person used a method at last intercourse. This is assumed to be a reasonably good indicator of current contraceptive use (Hofferth, 1985).

Throughout the following discussion, the terms contraception and birth control will be used interchangeably. Results of the pretest showed that

birth control, not contraception, was the more relevant term for our sample of adolescent AFDC mothers. Consequently, the term birth control was the term used throughout the questionnaire.

In the Adolescent Parent Outreach Survey, respondents were asked whether or not they used any method of birth control "the last time they got pregnant" and "the last time they had intercourse". Thus we can look at both past and current usage of birth control and changes in usage over time.

The young women were also asked whether their last pregnancy was planned, that is, did they want to get pregnant. The question was worded as follows: "Just before you became pregnant the last time, did you want to become pregnant when you did?" IF NO: "Did you want a(nother) baby but not at that time, or did you want (none/no more) at all?" Responses to this question are shown in Table 16.

Almost three-fourths (73 %) of the total sample said they did not want to get pregnant the last time. Three-fourths of the blacks and two-thirds of both the whites and Hispanics responded that their last pregnancy had not been planned and that they did not want to get pregnant, either not at that time (57%B, 57%W, 50%H) or not at all (21%B, 10%W, 10%H).

It has been estimated that 70 percent of all teenage pregnancies in the U.S. are unplanned and unwanted (Dryfoos, 1984; Ford, 1985). Thus, level of unplanned pregnancy among our sample of welfare mothers is similar to those reported for national samples of adolescents.

Given that a majority of last pregnancies were unplanned, and most likely unwanted, how does this relate to use of birth control? Table 16 presents pregnancy intention and use of birth control at last pregnancy.

TABLE 16
Pregnancy Intention and Contraceptive Use at Last Pregnancy among Adolescent AFDC Mothers in Cook County, 1983-84.
(Percentage Distribution)

Item	Total N=894	Black N=589	White N=110	Hispanic N=195	Sig.
PREGNANCY INTENTION++					
Want Get Pregnant Last Time					
Yes, wanted to	24.2	19.2*	30.0*	35.9*	WHNS
Didn't matter	2.6	2.4	2.7	3.1	
No, not at time	55.8	57.3	57.3	50.7	
No more at all	17.4	21.1	10.0	10.3	
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
USED BC LAST PREGNANCY					
Yes	28.3	32.3*	17.3*	22.1*	WHNS
No	71.7	67.7	82.7	77.9	
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	

++Includes all parities; similar proportions found for first and subsequent pregnancies.
*$p < .05$

While 73 percent of the total sample said that their last pregnacy was unplanned, only 28 percent reported that they were using any method to prevent pregnancy. To determine use of birth control at last pregnancy we asked the following question: "At the time you think you became pregnant the last time, were you and your partner using any method of birth control or doing anything else to prevent pregnancy?"

When we look at the three subgroups we see considerable difference in both pregnancy intention and reported use of birth contol at last pregnancy. Blacks were most likely to report that they "did not want to get pregnant the last time", 57 percent saying they "didn't want to get pregnant at that time" and 21 percent saying "no more at all". Hispanics were the least likely to report that their last pregnancy was unwanted.

Blacks were also more likely to report they had been using birth control when they became pregnant last time. Thirty-two percent of the blacks stated that they had been using some method of birth control just before they got pregnant the last time, as compared to 22 percent of the Hispanics and 17 percent of the whites.

Obviously, girls who said they were using a method of birth control the last time they became pregnant represent method failure or ineffective usage. Twenty-eight percent of the total sample, or more than 1 in 5 girls, report that they had been using a method of birth control the last time they became pregnant. Since a majority of these girls reported using the pill, they were obviously using the method incorrectly.*

For programmatic purposes it is important to separate these girls who said they were using some method, even though ineffectively, from girls who were not using any method at last pregnancy. Girls who reported having used a method last pregnancy recognized the need for prevention and made an effort...even though unsuccessfully. This group might be helped to become

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*Reporting error must be considered when estimating incorrect or ineffective usage among this sample; however, level of reporting error cannot be determined using existing data.

effective contraceptors by receiving additional information, counseling or moral support. Whereas, girls who did not want to become pregnant but made no effort to keep from getting pregnant might benefit from different types of program input such as information on the likelihood of their getting pregnant; motivation to prevent pregnancy and information on types of methods available; where and how to obtain a method.

To estimate levels of current usage of birth control at the time of the 1983-84 follow-up interview, respondents were asked whether they "had used any method of birth control the last time they had intercourse?" As shown in Table 17, 68 percent of the girls reported having used some method of birth control at last intercourse. This compares with 28 percent who reported using birth control at the time of their last pregnancy. Thus, among this sample of young women, reported use of birth control rose from 28 percent at last pregnancy to 68 percent at last intercourse, an increase of 40 percent.

TABLE 17
Contraceptive Use at Last Intercourse
among AFDC Mothers in Cook County, 1983-84
(Percentage Distribution)

Item	Total N=894	Black N=589	White N=110	Hispanic N=195	Sig.
Used BC Last Intercourse					
Yes	68.0	73.6*	54.0*	58.3*	WHNS
No	32.0	26.4	45.0	41.7	
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	

*p < .05

Considerable difference in current use of contraception is seen between the three subgroups. Close to three-fourths (74%) of the blacks said they had used birth control at last intercourse as compared to only 54 percent of the whites and 58 percent of the Hispanic respondents.

Type of Method

Types of birth control methods can be grouped into three categories: none; ineffective, and effective. Ineffective methods include withdrawal, rhythm, douche and others. Effective methods include pill, IUD, diaphragm, foam/jelly and condom.

As shown in Table 18, almost all of the girls who reported using any method both at last pregnancy and last intercourse were using "effective" methods, primarily the pill.

TABLE 18
Types of Birth Control Method Used
at Last Pregnancy and Last Intercourse

Type of Method	Last Pregnancy		Last Intercourse	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Pill	186	71.0	400	74.0
IUD	17	6.0	57	11.0
Condom	22	8.0	35	6.4
Diaphragm	8	3.0	10	1.8
Foam/Jelly/Douche	23	9.0	28	5.1
Withdrawal	4	1.5	6	1.1
Rhythm	3	1.1	4	.5
Other	1	.4	2	.1
	264	100.0	542	100.0

These data suggest that the pill is practically the only contraceptive method that any of these young women have knowledge about or have used. This reliance on the pill as their method of birth control may be a function of where they get birth control information and supplies. For many, perhaps for the majority, the birth control information and method they received post partum while still in the hospital following the birth of their first child may have been their initial and primary exposure to birth control information and supply. Hospital post partum programs generally prescribe the pill and can provide little follow-up once the young woman and her baby leave the hospital.

Where Methods Obtained

We asked those young women who said they were currently using some method of birth control, "Where did you get this method?". Their responses are shown in Table 19 below:

Table 19
Where Current Methods of Birth Control are Obtained

Source of Method	Number	Percent
Hosp/Hosp Clinic	109	21.5
BOH Clinic	82	16.2
Planned Parenthood	10	2.0
Another Clinic	99	19.5
Private Physician	164	32.3
Drug Store	34	6.7
Partner Supplied	4	.8
Friend	4	.8
Other	1	.2
	507	100.0

Among our sample, close to one quarter (22%) report they obtained their current method from a hospital or hospital clinic. Close to one-third (36%) go to BOH and other clinics to get their method and close to one-third (32%) go to private physicians.

Except for the number going to Planned Parenthood affiliates, these proportions for source of method are consistent with those reported nationally. For the U.S. as a whole, it is estimated that in 1981 five million women under age 20 were at risk of pregnancy. Of these, 2.9 million (57%) obtained family planning services; 1.5 or 30% from clinics and 1.4 million or 27% from private physicians (Torres and Forrest, 1983).

In the state of Illinois, it is estimated that in 1981 there were 260,000 young women under age 20 at risk of unintended pregnancy (Torres and Forrest, 1983). Of those at risk, approximately 48 percent obtained family planning services: 21 percent from clinics and 27 percent from private physicians. According to these estimates, Illinois ranks fifth from the bottom of all fifty states in the proportion of women under age 20 at risk of unintended pregnancy who received family planning services.

When we look at source of current contraceptive method among our sample, we see a major difference between the three subgroups. A majority of both whites (45%) and Hispanics (60%) obtained their methods from private physicians. Black respondents on the other hand were more evenly divided across all sources with 22 percent obtaining their method from private physicians, 23 percent from hospitals and 40 percent from BOH and other

clinics. Such differences in source of birth control methods between the groups may reflect differential use or access to the health care system.

Surprisingly, only 2 percent of the total sample say they went to Planned Parenthood for birth control. Nationwide, the largest share of clients in Planned Parenthood clinics have been lower income black women, with an increasing proportion of clients being adolescents.

During the early 1970s, Planned Parenthood of Chicago was one of the first clinics nationwide to provide special teen clinics. It may be that AFDC clients are routinely channeled into public health clinics. However, the fact that Planned Parenthood is reaching so few of the AFDC sample is surprising and deserves further exploration.

Our results suggest that more information is needed on the availability and access (both real and perceived) to family planning services among this and similar low income teenage populations in the Chicago area.

Reasons for Not Using Birth Control

To help us understand why girls who did not want to get pregnant did not use birth control prior to their last pregnancy, respondents were asked: "What was the main reason you did not use any method of birth control at that time? Their reasons are presented in Table 20 below.

TABLE 20
Reasons for Not Using Birth Control Last Pregnancy
among Adolescent AFDC Mothers in Cook County, 1983-84.

Reason No Method Used	NUMBER	PERCENT
Didn't know about BC	86	13.5
Didn't know where to get	16	2.5
BC difficult to get	12	1.9
BC difficult to use	19	3.0
Didn't expect sex	93	14.6
Didn't have sex enough	55	8.6
Wrong time of month	16	2.5
BC dangerous	51	8.0
Partner objects	6	.9
Ran out of pills	19	2.9
Wanted to get pregnant	108	16.9
Other	96	15.0
Health problem	62	9.7
	639	100.0

Twenty-one percent, or one in five girls said they didn't know about or that birth control was difficult to get or use. One quarter didn't expect to have sex; didn't think they had sex often enough to get pregnant; or thought it was the wrong time of the month to get pregnant. Therefore, the reason close to 50 percent of the sample gave for not using birth control when they got pregnant the last time represents a lack of information about birth control and the risk of pregnancy. Another 10 percent reported that health reasons prevented use of birth control and another 15 percent said they wanted to get pregnant. Eight percent said that birth control was dangerous, and 15 percent cited "Other" reasons for nonusage.

We then asked those young women who were not currently using any method of birth control, why they did not use a method at last intercourse. Their responses are presented in Table 21 below.

TABLE 21
Reasons For Not Using Birth Control Last Intercourse
among Adolescent AFDC Mothers in Cook County, 1983-84.

Reason No Method Used	Number	Percent
Didn't know about BC	10	4.1
Didn't know where to get	3	1.2
BC difficult to get	2	.8
BC difficult to use	15	6.2
Didn't expect to have sex	19	7.9
Didn't have sex often enough	16	6.6
Wrong time of month	11	4.5
BC dangerous	56	23.2
Partner objects	7	2.9
Ran out of pills	7	2.9
Wanted to get pregnant	19	7.9
Other	45	18.6
Health problem	24	9.9
No information	8	3.3
	242	100.0

When we compare reported reasons for not using birth control in the past (last pregnancy) and currently (last intercourse), an interesting pattern appears. Reasons for non-use of birth control in the past centered around lack of knowledge. Over half of all respondents gave answers reflecting lack of knowledge and sexual unpreparedness and this was consistent across all three groups.

In contrast, when we ask respondents why they were not currently using birth control, a large proportion, 25 percent of the total sample, reported that birth control is dangerous. This same pattern was also consistent across racial and ethnic groups. Thirty-five percent of the black respondents, 42 percent of the whites and 27 percent of the Hispanics report that the main reasons they are not using birth control is that "birth control is

dangerous". Thus the pattern of change in reasons for not using birth control at last pregnancy and last intercourse moves from one of primarily ignorance and lack of knowledge to fear and the perception that birth control is dangerous.* This pattern of change in reasons for non-use of birth control is shown in Table 22.

One possible explanation for this pattern of change which moves from reported lack of knowledge to fear and perceptions that birth control is dangerous lies in the type of initial exposure to birth control and patterns of health care utilization among these young welfare mothers.

All of these young women had become sexually active and had a child at very young ages. Existing research suggests that those who begin childbearing below the age of 15 are least likely to practice contraception, either at first intercourse or subsequently (Hofferth, 1984). It is unlikely that many of the young women in this sample had much information about or much experience with birth control methods until going to the hospital to have their first baby. Hospitals in general give information about birth control and prescribe a method, generally the pill, postpartum. Many of these young women may have received their first birth control information and method in this context... at the hospital following the birth of their first child.

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*The "other" category includes a variety of additional reasons which were given for not using birth control. The fact that "other" is the second most frequently cited reason for non-use at both last pregnancy and last intercourse suggests that additional information is needed regarding specific reasons for non-use among this sample of young women. The reasons listed above may not be appropriate or adequately describe the circumstances faced by some respondents. Additional research is needed to develop more appropriate questions and response categories with which to illicite information concerning reasons for non-use of birth control among this and similar populations.

TABLE 22

Reasons For Not Using Birth Control at Last Pregnancy and Last Intercourse By Race and Ethnicity among Adolescent AFDC Mothers in Cook County, 1983-84. (Percentage Distribution)

Reasons for Not Using Contraception	Last Pregnancy			Last Intercourse		
	Black	White	Hispanic	Black	White	Hispanic
Didn't know/ Difficult	27.6	20.5	31.3	22.6	3.5	18.8
Didn't expect/ Wrong time	37.6	26.5	31.3	27.3	20.6	33.3
BC dangerous	10.3	16.2	7.0	35.3	41.5	27.1
Other	3.9	10.3	5.4	5.7	17.2	8.3
Wanted to get Pregnant	20.6	26.5	25.0	9.1	17.2	12.5
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Rank Order in Which Reasons Cited and Pattern of Change in Reasons for Not Using Birth Control Last Pregnancy and Last Intercourse

	Last Pregnancy			Last Intercourse		
	Black	White	Hispanic	Black	White	Hispanic
Didn't know/ Difficult	2	3	1.5	3	4	3
Didn't expect/ Wrong time	1	1.5	1.5	2	2	1
BC dangerous	4	4	3	1	1	2
Other	5	5	4	5	3.5	5
Wanted to get Pregnant	3	1.5	2	4	3.5	4

These young women are likely to take the pill for a while, but if they notice that it "makes them gain weight", causes "headaches" or other negative effects, they stop...and label the pill "dangerous". The perception that birth control is dangerous may also be a result of information received through the media and other sources such as pill package inserts which emphasize dangers of the pill. With no opposing or balancing source of information regarding dangers and negative consequences of adolescent pregnancy and childbirth, the notion that birth control is dangerous may well be a rational decision on the part of these young women.

Another type of explanation concerns the relationship between knowledge and actual use of birth control. Three-quarters of these young women in the APOS sample said they had a sex education course in school, and of these, two-thirds said the course had included information on methods of birth control. However, when we asked a series of questions about different methods of birth control, very few of the respondents had any substantive knowledge of any method except the pill.

That courses in sex education in high school were not effective in terms of transferring information to these young women is not surprising. Curricula for such courses is often designed with a middle class bias; teachers may receive little or no training; and/or the course may be presented at a time which is inappropriate to the young woman's sexual maturation and activity.

Nevertheless, we do have some evidence that young women in this sample are not retaining information about pregnancy and birth control even when exposed to such information. At the time of the initial survey in 1981-82, 14 percent

of the respondents knew the most fertile time of the month. This low percentage is consistent with national estimates of the proportion of teenagers who answer this question correctly. Immediately following the first interview, however, IDPA caseworkers who were doing the interviewing were specifically instructed to tell the young women when the most fertile time--and thus the most likely time to get pregnant--was each month. Consequently, we can assume that at least a large proportion of these young women were exposed to this piece of information. At the follow-up interview, the increase in the proportion answering this question correctly was 3 percent. Thus, the proportion who could correctly answer this question went from 14 percent to 17 percent after direct input of information.

This type of information or the method of presentation may not be relevant to the circumstances and decision-making process of these young welfare mothers. Nevertheless, these results do raise questions concerning how and where birth control information is obtained and how this information and knowledge relate to the actual practice of birth control among this sample of young welfare mothers.

Answers to such questions require information on when these young women first used birth control and where they get their information which is not currently available. We hope to explore these types of issues and those related to level of contraceptive knowledge and subjective perceptions of the advantages and disadvantages of pregnancy and birth control when we analyze the third wave of the NORC Adolescent Family Life Study.*

*NORC carried out a second follow-up interview with 473 of the Cook County respondents in the summer of 1984. This interview obtained considerably more information concerning level of contraceptive knowledge, subjective perceptions of the risk of pregnancy and history of contraceptive use than are available in the APOS first follow-up.

CHAPTER 10

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This chapter summarizes our analysis of the Adolescent Parent Outreach Follow-up Survey, a longitudinal study of adolescent mothers on AFDC in Cook County. The Adolescent Parent Outreach Survey was designed to look at adaptive behavior among young mothers on AFDC after the birth of their first child. Two of the most critical factors affecting long-term opportunities and life chances of adolescent parents are, whether or not the young woman finishes high school and whether, and when, she has a second child. The current report has identified personal and family background characteristics among this sample of young women which make it more or less likely that a young mother on AFDC will finish school or bear a second child. Sources of support including family, church or local groups, and organized social services available to these young women are also examined.

Selected Characteristics of the APOS Follow-up Sample

Preceding chapters have provided a profile of the personal and family background characteristics and sources of support among this sample of adolescent AFDC mothers in Cook County. To summarize, at the time of the follow-up interview:

- Median age of the total sample was 19.
- Eight percent of the total sample were still in high school; 20 percent had graduated or gotten a GED and 72 percent had dropped out of school.
- Half (49%) of the sample had a second child and an additional 7 percent

were pregnant with their second child. Ten percent had three or more children and 6 percent were pregnant with their third or fourth child.

- Ten percent of the total sample had "ever" been married and 5 percent were "currently married" at the follow-up interview.

- One quarter of the young women had held a job since their first pregnancy.

- Forty percent of the young women were living with their mother, and 40 percent had never moved out of their mother/parent's household.

- Seventy-eight percent of the respondents reported they took care of their own child(ren); 11 percent said their mother provided child care; and 11 percent had other child care arrangements.

- Forty-six percent have contact with the father of the child or children.

- Eighty-eight percent of the total sample were still receiving AFDC.

- Twelve percent had gone off of AFDC at the follow-up interview and a total of 20 percent had gone off of AFDC at least once since receiving their own grant.

- Seventy percent of the total sample had been on someone else's grant prior to obtaining their own AFDC grant.

- Seventy-five percent of the sample said their last pregnancy was unplanned.

- Twenty-eight percent reported having used some method of birth control the last time they became pregnant and 68 percent said they used a method at last intercourse.

Race and Ethnicity

One important finding of the current analysis is the fact that the profile of adolescent mothers on AFDC which emerges when we look at characteristics of the total sample is very different from profiles of the three separate racial and ethnic groups. Some of the differences in the three racial and ethnic groups are summarized below:

- Young black mothers in the APOS sample were more likely to be in school both at the time they first became pregnant and at the follow-up interview. Current level of educational attainment, mother's education and educational aspirations were higher for blacks than for the white or Hispanic respondents. When we controlled for the effects of other factors, there was no difference in the likelihood of finishing school between the young black and white mothers in this sample. However, young Hispanic women were much less likely to graduate or get a GED. Young Hispanic mothers in

our sample had lower levels of current educational attainment and lower levels of education were also reported for their mothers.

- Young black women became sexually active and began childbearing earlier than did either the young white or Hispanic mothers in our sample. As a result, young black women tended to have more children at the time of the follow-up interview. However, when we controlled for age at first birth, no differences in the likelihood of having a second birth were found for black, white or Hispanic respondents.

- Young black women were much more likely to have been in school at the time they first became pregnant: 95 percent as compared to only 54 percent of the white and 60 percent of the Hispanic respondents.

- Young black women were more likely to have been living with their mother at the time they first became pregnant and at the time of the follow-up interview. Fewer black respondents had ever been married and a much larger proportion had never moved out of their parents' or mother's household.

- The young black mothers on AFDC were very similar to the Hispanic mothers in terms of their past welfare history and current welfare status. Almost three-fourths of both the black and two-thirds of the Hispanic respondents had been on someone else's grant prior to obtaining their own AFDC grant as compared to 50 percent of the whites. Fewer black and Hispanic respondents had ever been off of AFDC and a larger proportion were still receiving AFDC than was true for the young white women in the sample.

Factors Associated with School Status and Second Births

A primary objective of the current analysis was to identify characteristics of young women in this sample which make it more or less likely that a young mother on AFDC would finish high school or have a second birth. More important from a policy and program perspective, these results allow us to identify those young women in our sample who are most "at risk" of dropping out of school and having a second birth.

Among our sample of adolescent welfare mothers, those young women who are most likely to drop out and not finish high school are those who:

- are Hispanic
- are younger at date of interview
- have more than one child
- were not in school at first pregnancy
- have lower educational aspirations
- have had no job since first pregnancy
- moved out of their parental household
- have no help with child care
- have a previous welfare history

Those young women in our sample who are most "at risk" of having a second birth are those who:

- were younger at first birth
- have no high school diploma
- have had no job since first pregnancy
- moved out of their parental household
- have no help with child care
- have contact with father of their child(ren)

Going back to our original Figure 4, page 24a, we see that many of the same factors predict both types of behavior within our sample. In terms of personal characteristics: age, age at first birth, education and employment factors are related to school status and/or second birth.

The only family background characteristic which proved to be important in "predicting" the likelihood of finishing school or having a second birth was number of sibling, which was positively related to the probability of having a second child.

The sources of support which proved to be important are similar for both the likelihood of finishing school and having a second birth. Those young women who remain in their parental household and receive help with child care are more likely to both finish school and postpone subsequent childbirth. Support from or contact with the father, however, appears to increase the likelihood of having a second child.

Overall, our findings suggest that the family is the primary source of support available to and utilized by these young welfare mothers. Support from the family appears to act as an important intervening factor determining the likelihood that a young AFDC mother in this sample will graduate from high school or postpone the birth of a second child.

The fact that very few of these young welfare mothers perceive of themselves as having "big problems", and among those who do, very few seek help, raises some interesting questions related to availability and access versus knowledge of and motivation to use existing services. What services actually are available to these young mothers? What are the barriers to service utilization? What is the source of information and level of knowledge concerning use of services? Given knowledge of service availability, are there situational factors which inhibit service utilization, for example, cost or distance. What effect do cognitive or developmental factors have upon service utilization among these young women?

These types of questions are relevant for all types of service utilization, but especially those relating to school and birth control. There currently are existing programs which provide the opportunity and support for

young mothers to return to or stay in school and/or find a job. Enrollment in such programs, however, has been low and continuation poor.

The use of birth control is one area in her life in which the young woman herself can act, and results of that action may have a significant impact upon her life and her future. However, in order to use birth control effectively--and thus to postpone or prevent the birth of a second child--every young woman must first have 1) knowledge, 2) motivation, and 3) access to services and supplies.

The first and third of these are more amenable to direct program intervention. The second, motivation to prevent pregnancy, may involve a combination of factors including social environment, family support and perception of life options.

Our data suggest that among this sample of young welfare mothers, the first factor, knowledge, could be greatly improved. Existing literature suggests a number of theories to explain the lower preventive health service utilization rates of minority populations (Darabi, 1985; Dutto, 1978). These arguments center upon: 1) socioeconomic differentials in the ability to pay for services or the likelihood of being covered by health insurance; 2) cultural differences in values, expectations and exposure to sources of information (Berkanovic and Reeder, 1974); and 3) institutional barriers such as linguistic barriers, or differentials in treatment and quality of service (Darabi, 1985). Our results suggest that availability of and access to services need to be further explored from the perspective of the young welfare mother.

The current analysis provides very little information regarding "motivation" to prevent pregnancy or the factors affecting it. However, the large number of "ineffective" users in contrast to those who make no effort to prevent pregnancy indicates that there are differential levels of both knowledge and motivation to prevent subsequent pregnancies among this sample. Perceptions of the cost and consequences of pregnancy and childbirth and their relation to use of birth control within this sample need to be further explored.

Recent publicity given to service providers and funding sources in the area of adolescent pregnancy and parenthood may give the mistaken impression that the target population is being adequately or possibly oversupplied with services. The opposite is true. Money and services rarely cover need. Where services do exist, gaining access to all resources technically available to an appropriate teen requires a fairly high degree of bureaucratic sophistication (Moore, 1982).

Programs offering one set of services may themselves not know about or refer teens to other programs providing services which she also needs. Fragmentation of service delivery may mean that even those services which do reach appropriate teens do not produce their maximum effect because they do not form part of an integrated and comprehensive service delivery system which most experts agree is necessary to adequately meet the needs of adolescents (Hinds, 1980; Klerman and Jekel, 1973).

In the past, welfare and AFDC offices have not developed extensive preventive or supportive programs to deal with teenage childbearing. Their contributions have been primarily financial. This approach is understandable given the shortage of both staff and resources with which these offices generally must function. Program initiatives which are currently being undertaken under the Parents Too Soon initiative such as the IDPA Young Parent Program therefore may prove effective in offering needed support to young mothers on AFDC. Hopefully, more resources and program effort can also be channeled toward primary prevention. There is a huge population of young people in need of services who must be reached before they become parents and subsequently turn to AFDC.

Conclusion

Adolescent childbearing and its relation to welfare dependency is a complex issue to which there are no easy or short-term solutions. It has been described as a process--a series of decision-making stages that a teenager must traverse on the way to welfare dependency (Moore, 1982). These stages include decisions about beginning and continuing sexual activity; among those who initiate sexual activity, decision about whether to contracept regularly, sometimes, or never and with what method(s); among those experiencing a premarital pregnancy, decisions about whether to resolve the pregnancy through abortion, adoption, or keeping the child either within marriage or outside marriage; among those remaining unmarried but keeping the child, deciding whether to apply for welfare and/or to develop other means for self-support. At each decision stage, different types of information, action, influence and assistance are appropriate (Moore, 1982).

The best points at which family, community, or governmental action can intervene to reduce the probability that teens move from one stage to another along the path to welfare dependency have not been determined.

Our analysis of data from a sample of young women who began childbearing very early, and who turned to welfare for support, suggests that for interventions to be effective, they must occur early in this decision-making process. Our results suggest that, among these young welfare mothers, the family is and can be an effective source of support. A large proportion of the APOS sample dropped out of school before their first pregnancy. However, those who remained in school were less likely to have a second birth or to have it as quickly as those who dropped out of school. School is the one institution to which all young women are exposed at an early age. Programs which work to strengthen both the family and the schools and their input into the individual decision-making process may prove to be the most effective means of intervening in the path from adolescent sexuality, pregnancy and childbirth to welfare dependency.

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Appendix A

SAMPLE DESIGN

The Adolescent Parent Outreach Follow-up Sample consists of 899 adolescent mothers who participated in the Adolescent Parent Outreach Survey conducted by the Illinois Dept. of Public Aid during the fall and winter of 1981-82 and who were reinterviewed again in 1983-84. The APOS follow-up sample was limited to young women living in Cook County at the time of the initial interview. This section describes the sample design for the initial state-wide survey and then outlines the procedures used to select the Cook County follow-up samples.

The original sample design for the 1981-82 survey provided for representative samples of white, black and Hispanic respondents who were receiving AFDC in Oct. 1981. To select the state sample, AFDC rolls were first stratified by race and ethnicity as recorded on administrative records in Oct. 1981. The stratified lists included all female parents under the age of 18, who had at least one child or were pregnant with their first child* and were receiving AFDC support for their child either on their own or as part of another grant.

This resulted in a list of 5,620 assistance units stratified by ethnicity

*For a brief time (January to November, 1981), Illinois extended AFDC benefits to pregnant women who had no dependent children. The assumption was that adequate nutritional and prenatal care for first-time mothers out-weighed the short-run costs of higher welfare expenditures. However, the State discontinued this option in November, 1981, ostensibly in response to federal changes in the Social Security Act which restricted federal financial participation (FFP) in AFDC to the last trimester of the pregnancy only. These women, however, continued to be eligible for medical assistance. Since the AFDC option was still in effect at the time we drew the sample, our survey includes AFDC recipients who were pregnant with their first child. Ninety-nine of these women participated in the study.

of the household head which included 1240 whites, 3950 blacks, and 430 Hispanics. Due to personnel and bedgetary limitations, only those counties in Illinois with at least 10 adolescent AFDC recipients were included in the state-wide survey. This restriction reduced the initial sampling frame to 934 whites, 3746 blacks and 401 Hispanics. In order to obtain samples large enough for comparison purposes, it was decided to survey all whites, all Hispanics, and all blacks under 16 years of age. The remaining black girls aged 16 and 17 were sampled at one-third their actual number. The final state-wide sample consisted of 934 whites, 1164 blacks aged 16 and 17, 273 blacks under 16 years old and 401 Hispanics.

As previously described, two Cook County follow-up surveys were carried out, the first by NORC from July to September, 1983, and the second by IDPA from December to June, 1983-84. As a result, the 1983-84 Cook County follow-up sample was selected in two separate phases. Five hundred seventy-five of the original 1095 respondents who were living in Cook County at the time of the initial survey were selected for the NORC follow-up sample. The IDPA follow-up sample consisted of the remaining 502 Cook County respondents.*

When drawing the initial 1981-82 state-wide sample, stratification by race and ethnicity was done using information from the Dept. of Public Aid case records. To verify this information, the 1981-82 survey asked respondents to select from a list the group which represents their race. The groups listed were:

1) Aleut, Eskimo or American Indian
2) Asian or Pacific Islander
3) Black
4) White
5) Another group not listed.

*Eighteen respondents moved out of state and were not eligible for the follow-up survey.

Respondents who selected more than one group were asked to pick the group which best represented their race. Following the racial self-identification question, all respondents were then asked if any of the following groups described their national origin or ancestry and if so, to select which one:

1) Puerto Rican
2) Cuban
3) Mexican
4) Mexicana
5) Mexican-American
6) Chicano
7) Other Latin American
8) Other Spanish

All respondents who answered the national origins question in the affirmative were assigned to the Hispanic group. The remaining respondents were assigned to a white, black or other group depending upon their response to the race question above.

A comparison of subsamples using the racial and ethnic self-identification questions above with those selected using IDPA administrative records suggested that the IDPA records understate the size of the AFDC population which is Hispanic. Eight percent of the young women classified as white on the IDPA case records and between 5 and 6 percent of the women classified as black identified themselves as being of Hispanic origin. Only 3.6 percent of the Hispanics according to administrative records did not identify themselves as Hispanic on the questionnaire. There were very few differences between administrative record classification and responses to the questionnaire for either blacks or whites. Responses to the survey questions are considered a more accurate representation of the racial and ethnic characteristics of this sample. Therefore, the Cook County follow-up sample was selected using the ethnic recodes from the 1981-82 survey instead of the administrative information found on case records.

The sample design for the NORC Follow-up survey specified the selection of three independent probability samples based on self-reported ethnic identification. These were:

1) a sample of respondents who identified their race as black and indicated no Hispanic origin or ancestry,

2) a sample of respondents who identified their race as white and indicated no Hispanic origin or ancestry,

3) a sample of respondents who identified their origin or ancestry as Hispanic regardless of their response to the racial question.

To correct for the discrepancy between IDPA case records and racial and ethnic self-identification on certain cases, the AFL sample was selected in a multistage process that required: (1) weighting the sample of 1898 original respondents to reflect their proportions in the AFDC adolescent parent population, (2) stratifying the weighted sample by racial and ethnic categories, and (3) sampling within each category to yield sufficiently sized sub-samples to permit comparisons across ethnic groups.

Stage 1:

The completed 1898 cases from the statewide Adolescent Parent Outreach Survey were partitioned into three groups according to the ethnic codes contained on the Dept. of Public Aid records. All cases that were not residents of Cook County at the time of the initial survey were deleted which resulted in 1095 eligible respondents for the AFL follow-up. Weighting these 1095 eligible respondents to reflect their proportions in the AFDC adolescent parent population produced a weighted sample of 2293 eligible respondents.

Stage 2:

From the weighted sample of 2293 cases, stratified lists were produced by self-reported ethnicity (black, white, Hispanic, other); academic status (in-school, out-of-school); number of children (one, one plus pregnancy, two or more), and age of respondent. The lists were sorted by these characteristics in order to produce homogeneous groupings for systematic selection of sample cases.

Stage 3:

All respondents who identified themselves as Asian, Indian, or Eskimo and those cases selected for the pre-test were deleted from the sorted lists, reducing the weighted list to 2232 eligible cases. Table 1 shows the sample fraction and number of cases actually selected for the AFL sample by ethnic group.

TABLE 1
Sample Fraction and Number of Cases Selected by Ethnic Group
Adolescent Family Life Follow-up Sample

Ethnic Group	Eligible Cases Fraction	Sample Selected	Cases
White	124	124/124	124
Black	1740	280/1740	280
Hispanic			
White	233	126/233	126
Black	135	45/135	45
TOTALS	2232		575

A decision was made to select all black Hispanics into the sample since they were originally selected at one-third their true proportion in the population. Once in the field, it was determined that a large proportion of the black Hispanics had misreported their ethnic origin. They were reassigned to the black group at the rate of 0.16 and this resulted in 22 additional black cases. The deficit among the Hispanic group was filled by sampling from the remaining white Hispanic group at a rate of 0.54 and this resulted in an additional 23 cases being added to the Hispanic group. The total NORC follow-up sample of 575 cases was composed of 302 Blacks, 124 whites, and 149 Hispanics.

The IDPA follow-up sample consisted of the remaining 502 initial Cook County respondents who were not part of the NORC follow-up sample. The total IDPA follow-up sample consisted of 387 black, 10 white and 105 Hispanic respondents. The number of whites in the IDPA sample was small because most of the eligible white respondents in Cook County had been reinterviewed as part of the earlier NORC follow-up sample.

APPENDIX B

Table 1: Regression Analysis of School Status on Selected Characteristcs and Sources of Support among Adolescent AFDC Mothers in Cook County, 1983-84.

Variable	Coeff./se	Signif.	BETA
1. Hispanic	-.090 (.039)	**	.090
2. Current Age	-.074 (.016)	***	.180
3. Number Children	.097 (.031)	***	.118
4. Job since First Pregnancy	-.096 (.037)	**	.100
5. Educational Aspirations	-.005 (.002)	**	.077
6. Welfare History	.065 (.034)	*	.074
7. Child Care	-.131 (.038)	***	.133
8. Ever Move out of Mother's/Parent's Home	.138 (.033)	***	.165
9. In School when First Pregnant	.129 (.042)	***	.122

VARIABLES NOT IN THE REGRESSION EQUATION:

1. White
2. Age First Birth
3. Mother's Education
4. Contact with Father
5. Sample

* $p < .10$
** $p < .05$
*** $p < .01$

Table 2: Regression Analysis of Second Brith on Selected Characteristics and Sources of Support among Adolescent AFDC Mothers in Cook County.

Variable	Coeff./se	Significance	BETA
1. Current Age	-.106 (.023)	***	.210
2. Age First Birth	-.113 (.020)	***	.257
3. Graduate from High School	.153 (.046)	**	.126
4. Job since First Pregnancy	-.123 (.043)	**	.106
5. Number Siblings	.013 (.005)	**	.085
6. Ever Move out of Mother's/Parent's Home	.135 (.038)	***	.133
7. Child Care	-.101 (.044)	**	.084
8. Contact with Father	-.160 (.032)	***	.179

VARIABLES NOT IN THE REGRESSION EQUATION:

1. Hispanic
2. White
3. Educational Aspirations
4. Sister had Baby < 18
5. Religiosity
6. Welfare History

** p < .05
*** p < .01

Appendix C

CASE # _____ DATE _____ CALENDAR

INTERVIEWER # _____ Adolescent Family Life

NORC-5161-2
6/83

DECKS 14-16

	PRE-79	1979												1980												1981												1982												1983									
		JAN 01	FEB 02	MAR 03	APR 04	MAY 05	JUN 06	JUL 07	AUG 08	SEP 09	OCT 10	NOV 11	DEC 12	JAN 01	FEB 02	MAR 03	APR 04	MAY 05	JUN 06	JUL 07	AUG 08	SEP 09	OCT 10	NOV 11	DEC 12	JAN 01	FEB 02	MAR 03	APR 04	MAY 05	JUN 06	JUL 07	AUG 08	SEP 09	OCT 10	NOV 11	DEC 12	JAN 01	FEB 02	MAR 03	APR 04	MAY 05	JUN 06	JUL 07	AUG 08	SEP 09	OCT 10	NOV 11	DEC 12	JAN 01	FEB 02	MAR 03	APR 04	MAY 05	JUN 06	JUL 07	AUG 08	SEP 09
BIRTH ROW																																																									
SCHOOL ROW																																																									
JOBS ROW																																																									
WELFARE ROW																																																									
ADDRESS ROW																																																									

BIRTHS

CHILD'S NAME	BIRTH DATE Mo Day Yr	MOS PREG
1. _____	31-38/	39-46/
2. _____	39-46/	47-54/
3. _____	47-54/	55-62/
4. _____	55-62/	

PREGNANCY LOSSES

LOSS #	DATE Mo Yr	OUTCOME	MOS PREG
63/	64-67/	68/	69-70/
71/	72-75/	76/	77-78/
BEGIN DECK 15 10/	11-14/	15/	16-17/
18/	19-22/	23/	24-25/

SCHOOL	SCHOOL #1	SCHOOL #2	SCHOOL #3	SCHOOL #4
Return Date:		30-33/	38-41/	46-49/
Drop Date:	26-29/	34-37/	42-45/	50-53/

JOBS	JOB #1: _____	JOB #2: _____	JOB #3: _____	JOB #4: _____
Date Start:	54-57/	62-65/	70-73/	BEGIN DECK 16 10-13/
Date End:	58-61/	66-69/	74-77/	14-17/

WELFARE	WELFARE #1	WELFARE #2	WELFARE #3	WELFARE #4
Date On:	18-21/	26-29/	34-37/	42-45/
Date Off:	22-25/	30-33/	38-41/	46-49/

MOVE DATE	ADDRESS
	ADDRESS 1 Street _____ City _____
50-53/	ADDRESS 2 Street _____ City _____
54-57/	ADDRESS 3 Street _____ City _____
58-61/	ADDRESS 4 Street _____ City _____
62-65/	ADDRESS 5 Street _____ City _____